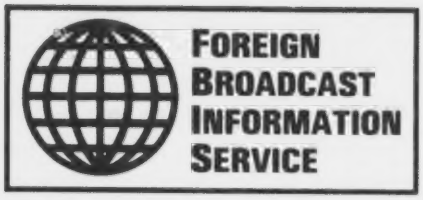

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-206
Tuesday
25 October 1988

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-206 *25 October 1988*

CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Pact, NATO Mandate Talks Held in Vienna 24 Oct 1
Commentator on INF Treaty, Further Disarmament *[Lobachenko]* 1
Destruction of Pershing Launchers Described *[IZVESTIYA 21 Oct]* 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Arbatov, Petrovskiy Speak at UN Day Meeting 3
Note Success in Regional Settlements 3
UN's Hinteregger Meets Officials on Cooperation 3
Socialist Nations Issue Statement on Debt at UN 4
PRAVDA on Use of Security Council Veto *[24 Oct]* 4
Primakov Comments on Gorbachev Bases Proposal *[Tokyo]* 4
'Observers Roundtable' on Foreign Policy Issues *[Vedenyapin, Belyayev, Volskiy]* 5
Prospects for CEMA-EEC Relations Examined *[PRAVDA 22 Oct]* 9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Northeast Asia

Commentary on Soviet-Japanese Roundtable *[Ovchinnikov in PRAVDA 21 Oct]* 11
Planned U.S. Naval Exercise Denounced *[Solton]* 12

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Journal Cited on U.S. Policy in Asia-Pacific 12
Jakarta Working Group Meets on Cambodian Issue 13
CPV Daily Comments on Talks 13
TV Reports Meeting 13
Comment on Draft Resolution 13
Gerasimov Supports SRV Note *[Hanoi]* 14
Radio Commentary on 'Obstacles' *[Alekseyev]* 14
CPSU Delegation Leaves for New Zealand *[PRAVDA 20 Oct]* 14

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev To Receive Peace Award in India *[Belgrade TANJUG]* 14
Arab Daily Says Soviets To Float Peace Plan *[Manama WAKH]* 15
Sheverdnadze Reportedly To Tour Middle East Soon *[Abu Dhabi WAM]* 15
Petrovskiy Interviewed on Mideast Issues *[London AL-HAWADITH 21 Oct]* 15
Commentary Views Najibullah Talks Offer *[Malikov]* 17
Soviet Religious Leader on Kabul Islamic Meeting 17
YAR President Meets Lushev on Military Ties 18
Evaluation of Bhutto's Election Manifesto *[Ovisin]* 18

East Europe

Further on Visit by Polish Premier Rakowski 18
Moscow Pre-Visit Commentary *[Afonin]* 18
Rakowski Luncheon Speech *[PRAVDA 22 Oct]* 19
Visit Outlined 20
More on Ryzhkov Talks 22
Poland's Urban on Pre-roundtable Situation *[PRAVDA 24 Oct]* 23

Joint USSR-GDR Military Exercise Ends 23
Further Reportage on Situation in SFRY 23
Slovenia's Kucan Cited *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 23 Oct]* 23
Montenegro Emergency Steps Lifted *[PRAVDA 24 Oct]* 25
'Confidence' in LCY Leaders *[TRUD 21 Oct]* 25
Solovyev Visits Bulgarian Plants 25

West Europe

Gorbachev Interview With DER SPIEGEL *[PRAVDA 24 Oct]* 25
Further on Visit by FRG Chancellor Kohl 34
Press Details Arrival *[IZVESTIYA 25 Oct]* 34
Gorbachev Welcomes Kohl 35
Gorbachev, Kohl Begin Talks 35
More on Talks *[PRAVDA 25 Oct]* 35
Gorbachev at Kremlin Dinner 36
Gorbachev Dinner Speech *[PRAVDA 25 Oct]* 36

Latin America & Caribbean

Brazilian President Sarney Visits Soviet Union 38
Sarney Urges Broadened Cooperation *[PRAVDA 21 Oct]* 38
Joint Soviet-Brazilian Communique *[Moscow PRAVDA 22 Oct]* 39
Exchange of Military Attaches *[Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO 20 Oct]* 42

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

PRAVDA Editorial Discusses Draft Laws *[25 Oct]* 43
Moscovites To Vote in Multicandidate Elections 44
Party Slogans for October Revolution Anniversary *[PRAVDA 24 Oct]* 44
Supreme Soviet To Meet 27 Oct on Plan, Budget 45
Further on 19 Oct Council of Ministers Meeting 45
Paper Reports Nuclear Accident After 10 Years *[AFP]* 58
TASS Carries Report 58
Latvian Minister Revokes Order on Subscriptions 59
Further Press Reportage on Ukrainian Plenum 59
Shcherbitskiy 10 Oct Address *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 11 Oct]* 59
Commissions Formed *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 12 Oct]* 76
Resolution on Food Supply *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 12 Oct]* 76
Shcherbitskiy Closes Debates *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 13 Oct]* 77
Samarkand Elects New Party First Secretary 77
Further Regional Changes 78
Chuvash Obkom Changes Noted 78
Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest 78
Situation Remains 'Tense' 78
Armenian Collective Debate 79
Armenians Leaving Baku *[AFP]* 80
Yerevan Reports on Sumgait 'Pogroms' Trial 80

Economic

Statistics Committee Issues Economic Results 81
Economic Development on Supreme Soviet Agenda 82
Ryzhkov Speaks on Agro-Industrial Complex 82
Official Denies Rumors of Price Increases 84
Action To Curb Inflation, Compensation Urged *[IZVESTIYA 19 Oct]* 84
Correction—Bases for Economic Comparisons 85

Scientific

'Aktivnyy' Space Project Meeting Opens 85
'Red Tape' Combatted in Academy of Sciences 85

Military

Yazov Explains Doctrine of Military Sufficiency *[Hamburg DIE WELT 21 Oct]* 85
Yazov: Komsomol Vital to Military Restructuring *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Oct]* 86
New Leadership in DOSAAF Central Committee *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Oct]* 89
INF Missile Officers' Redeployment Discussed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Oct]* 89
Television Portrays Changes in Armed Forces 91

Pact, NATO Mandate Talks Held in Vienna 24 Oct
LD2410180688 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Vienna October 24 TASS—Representatives of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO held a meeting here today within the framework of consultations to work out a mandate for future talks on cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Commentator on INF Treaty, Further Disarmament
OW2410114088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2240 GMT 20 Oct 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast; Vadim Lobachenko commentary]

[Text] According to reports from the United States, the destruction of U.S. land-based cruise missiles has begun at Davis Monthan in Arizona. Our commentary:

[Lobachenko] Hello, comrades. A recent event in the state of Arizona represents the continuation of the elimination process in the United States and the Soviet Union of two classes of missiles, consistent with the INF agreement.

In practical terms, the fulfillment of this agreement began on 1 August of this year with the explosion of four SS-22 missiles at the Soviet Sary-Ozek missile base. A little more than 2 months have elapsed and already hundreds of missiles carrying nuclear warheads have been destroyed at Soviet and American bases. Obviously, all such news is greeted by us with a sense of relief. For the first time in many decades the barometer of the arms race no longer points to the the danger of an impending storm.

But the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, though an important step, is nevertheless the first step along the path of disarmament. It encompasses 4 percent of the nuclear missile arsenals on our planet. Therefore the following question is justified: What, then, is next? The answer to this question is to be found in the statement made on 15 January 1986 by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, which proposed a nuclear-free world by the year 2000 and, following the INF Treaty, the question of a 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons to be placed on the agenda, the prevention of the arms race in space, followed by a decrease and an eventual ban on nuclear weapons. Soviet-American talks concerning all these questions are currently being held in Geneva.

Unquestionably, progress in these matters would have been achieved much quicker if not for the contradictory trends in the United States. There, influential militaristic circles are attempting to discover new directions in the nuclear missile race. An example of this is the latest Pentagon program in the development of so-called penetrating] missiles armed with nuclear warheads designed for a massive blow at underground headquarters and bomb shelters of the Soviet Union. However, the mood in contemporary America is clearly not in favor of the proponents of massive strikes against the Soviet Union. Unlike previous years, at present an overwhelming number, three quarters of all Americans, are in favor of cooperation with the Soviet Union, of improvements in Soviet-U.S. relations. All this is the result of the policies of restructuring and the new thinking in the Soviet Union and the results of the Soviet-U.S. talks on disarmament.

This year, with the ratification of INF and its implementation, is undoubtedly a turning point for both Soviet-American relations and the cause of nuclear disarmament.

Destruction of Pershing Launchers Described
PM2110141188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 4

[Correspondent Ye. Bovkun "On the Spot Report" incorporating interview with Soviet inspection group leader V.S. Lebedev by Bovkun in Hausen, FRG: "Where the Pershings Are Being Eliminated"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Hausen—White shields warning of a NATO military base nearby are a frequent sight along the FRG's ordinary highways. On this occasion, the FRG Defense Ministry bus carrying about 20 foreign correspondents turned right at one such sign, having just passed the modern hotel structures at Frankfurt-am-Main Airport....

The small town is called Hausen. This is the site of the technical services center for Pershings. The events we are about to witness can be described, without any exaggeration, as historic. This will be the first step taken in West Europe to destroy intermediate-range missile systems under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. It will be taken in the presence of a group of Soviet inspectors.

Brigadier General Joseph Laposata and other U.S. officers, staff members of the Martin-Marietta concern which makes the Pershings, Bundeswehr representatives, and a few civilians including the mayor of Frankfurt-am-Main took their places on an improvised stand in the hangar where the launcher had been wheeled in.

I read its serial number: 2NDPITLTZ018.

"Where did it come from?", I asked the U.S. officer next to me.

Apparently from Mutlangen, where I attended a demonstration of a Pershing-2 missile being dismantled a few months ago. Until today this missile was attached to the U.S. 56th Artillery Brigade stationed in the FRG. Gen Laposata drew the attention of those assembled to the importance of the moment.

"Every incision in the steel body represents a step into the future," he summed up. "We hope that today's action and the subsequent similar actions will enable our children to live in a world where the 'enemy image' and the arms race will give way to tolerance and mutual understanding, while agreements like the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will become a matter of course. We have traveled a long, hard road and our countries' citizens can be proud of their participation in preparations for this event. I would also like to thank the people of the FRG and other NATO countries for their contribution to ensuring peace."

"Are these thanks addressed specifically to the West German fighters for peace who consistently opposed the siting of U.S. intemediate-range nuclear missiles in their country?", I asked him afterward.

"I meant it for the entire population," the general parried.

I did not remind him that the most sincere and most ardent champions of eliminating nuclear weapons were now standing outside the base gates holding up banners. He knew it himself. "Protocol" made no provision for members of the FRG antiwar movement aktiv to attend the ceremony.

...But the news conference continued. One of my colleagues found out that preparations for the dismemberment of a launcher were already under way in a neighboring hangar. A large group of the reporting and photographing fraternity immediately made its way there without waiting for the end of the somewhat protracted official ceremony.

Indeed, "bluecoats" supervised by a dark-skinned sergeant wearing protective clothing had already prepared the main instruments: an electric, metal-cutting saw and a special plasma cutter for the hardest parts.

The launcher was wheeled in. The journalists were led away to an observation platform by the hangar door. The Soviet inspectors and their escort of U.S. inspection service representatives went into a glass booth where the press was not allowed.

We were issued dark glasses. The plasma blades were applied to the launcher's parts, one after another.... Journalists were not allowed to leave the stand and wander around the base, and U.S. soldiers were there to maintain order. We managed with great difficulty to persuade them to let us get to our own people. An exception was made for the three Soviet journalists.

Vyacheslav Semenovich Lebedev, leader of the Soviet inspection group, briefly informed us of the nature of his mission and replied to my questions.

[Bovkun] How many systems are to be destroyed now?

[Lebedev] Nine launchers are due to be eliminated during these 2 days. These are actually launchers—not carriers, as they are sometimes wrongly called. Today you see the last one before you. True enough, some of the equipment was dismantled in advance in order to make it easier for the press.

[Bovkun] Are there any deviations from the rules for dismembering the launchers?

[Lebedev] The treaty provides for the destruction of all propulsion elements, the main method of their elimination being cutting them in half. But this is not always feasible, such as when a symmetrical incision does not affect any propulsion elements. The main point is that they should lose their functional purpose, in other words that they should not be capable of being repaired.

[Bovkun] What form can your intervention take?

[Lebedev] If there are important matters at issue, we persist and say: Unless such-and-such element is destroyed, the process cannot be considered complete. We record our observations in our report. On the whole, however, we have established businesslike relations with the Americans.

[Bovkun] The cut launcher parts will be transported to Hanau and used as scrap metal. Is this in line with the reconversion tasks?

[Lebedev] Fully. After all, it will be used for national economic purposes just like, by the way, the tractor trailers.

[Bovkun] Some of our launchers are being modified as lifting cranes by the West German firm "Liebherr." Have the Americans not objected to their use in this fashion?

[Lebedev] No, because agreement was reached on an important principle: The task of elimination is not to make people cut metal but to ensure that a system is rendered useless for military purposes at minimum cost and in a sufficiently convincing manner from an engineering viewpoint. At first glance this is a destructive action, but in actual fact the world has never before witnessed a more constructive work. The treaty whose implementation we are inspecting has made it possible to begin the countdown in the hitherto unchecked process of nuclear arms buildup.... [end Lebedev]

So, the treaty is being implemented. This proves the feasibility of the very idea of a nuclear-free world, along the path to which the USSR and the United States are marching not as rivals but as partners.

Arbatov, Petrovskiy Speak at UN Day Meeting

LD2410183488 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—"Certain normalisation of international relations has been achieved by common efforts of the United Nations Organization, of its member countries", said Georgiy Arbatov, chairman of the United Nations Association in the USSR. He addressed today a celebration meeting in Moscow devoted to the United Nations Day and the beginning of the week of action for disarmament.

Encouraging changes, Academician Arbatov said, are a result of wisdom and political will of statesmen, of the awareness by the ever growing number of people of the fact that war, particularly nuclear war, cannot be a means of achieving political, economic, ideological aims in the contemporary conditions. Humanity approached the brink beyond which the military might loses its effectiveness and out of a means of ensuring security degenerates into a means of self-destruction of humanity.

The USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy said that humanity pins great hopes for the consolidation of peace on the implementation of the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, on the possibility of the conclusion of agreements on a number of other cardinal problems. The idea of the creation of comprehensive system of international security gains ever greater recognition. Cooperation of all the countries is needed to implement it. Vladimir Petrovskiy emphasized that the new Soviet initiatives submitted at the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly confirm the Soviet Union's striving to use that forum to achieve positive changes in the international arena.

A message of United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to the Soviet public on the occasion of the United Nations Day was read out at the meeting. The award of the United Nations diploma "peace messenger" to the United Nations Association in the USSR has become a sign of the recognition of the association's efforts.

Note Success in Regional Settlements

LD2410230588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] A solemn meeting of the public devoted to United Nations Day, marking the 43d anniversary of the organization, took place in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Union in Moscow on 24 October. Opening the meeting, Academician Arbatov emphasized the special role that this organization plays today, having become an effective tool for resolving conflicts and regional problems.

Vladimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister, addressed those present. He spoke about the progress of the work of the 43d session of the UN General Assembly and about the tasks facing this organization at the present time. Regarding UN efforts to resolve conflict situations, Comrade Petrovskiy said, among other things:

[Begin Petrovskiy recording] Largely due to the United Nation's efforts, a peaceful settlement of some regional conflicts has been commenced, and ways are actively being sought to solve others. The great peacekeeping potential of the United Nations has been demonstrated, for example, in Afghanistan. A monitoring mechanism of the United Nations to observe the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements has been created and is operating.

We now see the main task in ensuring that the United Nations continues to play an important role in the strict observance of the Geneva agreements by all sides, and it is all the more important that the experience of Afghanistan has now become the inspiration for seeking solutions in other regions as well. It has given rise to a kind of chain reaction of positive moves in solving complex conflicts which, as you know, have clouded the international atmosphere for centuries.

Following Afghanistan, a turning point in the Iran-Iraq conflict has come, and for the first time in 8 years a peaceful tranquility has descended there. However, both the Security Council and the secretary general, and especially both sides, will evidently still have to make considerably greater efforts to ensure that the Iran-Iraq settlement is put on a firm footing.

Thanks to the efforts of the United Nations and its secretary general, a new and positive dynamism has become evident in resolving conflicts in Cyprus and in the Western Sahara. The wind of change has now touched the area of southern Africa. The realization of the need for a Near East settlement through the convocation of an international conference is increasing, although there are still a number of difficulties in the path of convening such a conference.

Today the importance of each of these processes far exceeds the bounds of the corresponding regions. All these processes, taken together, form a new political climate, and many people are now greatly satisfied that in all these processes one can read the writing, as it were, of the United Nations Organization. [end recording]

UN's Hinteregger Meets Officials on Cooperation

LD2210155188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Hinteregger, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, was in the Soviet Union on a working visit 18-20 October. He was received by Comrade Shevardnadze. He also had a conversation with Morgun, chairman of the State Committee for the

Protection of Nature; Sitaryan, first deputy secretary of the Gosplan; Yezhkov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology; Osadchuk, deputy minister of foreign economic relations; and Academician Aganbegyan. There was an exchange of views on the role of the commission in organizing extensive and mutually advantageous cooperation in the region. Also discussed were matters of increasing the efficiency of the Soviet Union's participation in the activity of this economic organization and the system of the United Nations.

Socialist Nations Issue Statement on Debt at UN

LD2110202788 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 21 TASS—TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov reports:

The socialist countries presented Thursday in the second committee (economic and financial questions) of the General Assembly of the United Nations a joint statement on the situation in respect of the international monetary relations.

One of the most serious problems faced by the world economy during the 1980s, the statement says, is the debt crisis which has affected mainly the developing nations. At present the overall external indebtedness has already topped the 1,000 billion dollar mark, and repayments of this sum take up one third of the aggregate export receipts of the developing and other large-debtor countries. This crisis jeopardises the stability of the international financial system as a whole and is having a deleterious effect on foreign economic relations.

The statement points to the need for improving the international currency and credits systems and for strengthening the international coordination of currency policies.

The socialist countries say that the spending on arms is a serious obstacle in the way of development. A radical solution to the problems of indebtedness would be facilitated by an end to the arms race and the use of a part of the resources thus released to increase the official development assistance.

PRAVDA on Use of Security Council Veto

PM2410152188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 88 Second Edition p 7

[Article by Yuriy Vladimirov under the rubric "We Reply to Readers": "Right of Veto"]

[Text] Seventeen-year-old O. Prokopenko of Minsk and other readers inquire: "Has the USSR ever used its veto at the UN Security Council and, if so, under what circumstances?"

The UN Charter gives the Security Council the right to adopt, along with recommendations, resolutions that are binding on all members of the organization. Security Council resolutions are deemed adopted when they are voted for by nine council members, including all of its five permanent members: the USSR, the United States, Britain, the PRC, and France.

A permanent council member can prevent the adoption of a resolution by voting against, which is regarded as the use of its right of veto. From the standpoint of common sense, a permanent council member should only resort to this step if it considers the question submitted for discussion to run counter to the organization's aims and principles or the national interests of a state or group of states, or in the event of its being unable to take responsibility for the implementation of the resolution in question. Voting practice in the council shows that the Western powers use their veto to maintain their own political and economic influence and the positions of multinational corporations in states and regions. Evidence of this is provided by the stubborn blocking by the United States and Britain of the adoption by the Security Council of resolutions on the introduction of comprehensive sanctions against the racist Pretoria regime.

Since 1946 the Soviet Union has used this measure on 114 occasions. Although Western propaganda tries to present this fact as an "abuse," the position adopted by the USSR has invariably been greeted with understanding and approval by the broad progressive public. After all, in resorting to the veto, the Soviet Union has been guided by the desire to protect the interests of countries subject to discrimination; it has won equal terms for the acceptance of states as UN members and defended the peoples' right to self-determination, independent development, peace, and security.

The resolute and principled stance of the USSR, which has used its veto to resolve disarmament issues and eliminate local seats of tension, has repeatedly impeded the whipping up of armed conflicts.

The Soviet Union's use of the veto in the Security Council is an obstacle preventing imperialist reaction from subordinating the activities of that organ to its own ends.

Primakov Comments on Gorbachev Bases Proposal

OW2410071888 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 0300 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] At a symposium held at a hotel in Tokyo on 24 October, Primakov, a close adviser of General Secretary Gorbachev and director of the World Economics and International Relations Institute, emphasized Soviet determination to continue efforts to realize Gorbachev's disarmament proposal: If the United States abrogates its military bases in the Philippines, the USSR will stop using Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam.

The symposium was sponsored by the Liberal Democratic Party Research Committee on Security Affairs and was also attended by former U.S. Under Secretary of Defense Ikle and other experts on East-West security affairs.

Regarding Gorbachev's proposals last month on disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region—of which the most prominent was an offer for the USSR to stop using its military supplies base in Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam if the United States gives up its military bases in the Philippines—Primakov said at the symposium that it is very important to further tone down antagonistic relations between the two countries by preventing the expansion of rivalry through mutual abrogation of foreign military bases. He said that even though there has been no immediate positive reaction to Gorbachev's disarmament proposals, the USSR is absolutely not giving up. It will continue to exert efforts in the future with the conviction that such proposals will surely be realized. He emphasized the fact that the USSR will continue to work for the realization of Gorbachev's proposals.

'Observers Roundtable' on Foreign Policy Issues

LD2310200788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 23 Oct 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program introduced by Gennadiy Vedenyapin, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator, with Igor Petrovich Belyayev, political observer of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the ZA RUBEZHOM editorial board]

[Text] [Vedenyapin] The modern world is not unambiguous. It is complex and contradictory, yet is is interdependent and interconnected as never before. It's difficult—and not always necessary, perhaps—to look for a common donominator in the intricate pattern of international events. There are, nevertheless, quite a few general trends determining their development. Chief among these, perhaps, is the new thinking—the thinking that is leading ultimately to a warmer international climate.

Take, for example, the European Continent. Here a new political atmosphere can be clearly seen emerging. Its determinants are both a growing mutual trust and a growing willingness to cooperate—greater mutual understanding and greater mutual respect for each other's historically evolved particularlities. It is probably true to say that even quite recently, it would have been hard to imagine a meeting of representatives of East and West unaccompanied by sharp polemical skirmishes. Now the time has come when we can have a constructive exchange of views. The acceleration of diplomatic activity in the European sphere is proof of this. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze was recently in Paris, as you know, Comrade Zaykov in Warsaw, and Yazov in Sofia. In Moscow, the CEMA Executive Committee discussed, among other matters, the prospects for cooperation with the European Economic Community. The Austrian chancellor, Vranitzky, and Italian Prime Minister de Mita have visited our country. The Polish premier, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, has paid us a working visit. Coming soon are the chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Kohl, and French President Mitterrand. Behind these visits and talks are new contacts and new ties, the purpose of which is to help build a European home in which the peoples of the continent may coexist on principles of good-neighborliness and cooperation.

[Belyayev] What one wants to remark on particularly is the constructive nature of contacts of this kind. Take Comrade Shevardnadze's visit to Paris. Since it took place, everyone has been talking about a new rapprochement between Moscow and Paris, emphasizing the friendly and businesslike atmosphere of the Soviet-French talks. According to LE MONDE, Soviet diplomats have adopted a new style characterized by—I quote—genuinely human relations, frank and simple language, and real openness. Mention has been made of some of the problems on which the positions of our two countries are beginning to come closer together. Since Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze's visit, France has, for instance, dropped its objections to the holding of an international human rights forum in Moscow. So far, by the way, the United States continues to object. Our two countries have agreed on the issue of organizing an international conference in Paris on the banning of chemical weapons. Also important, I think, is the accord on opening French and Soviet cultural centers in our capitals. In a word, we have specific and tangible results which will help us overcome the tendency toward a disunited Europe.

[Vedenyapin] Naturally, the favorable influence of the process of restructuring that is going on in our country is not confined to our relations with Western Europe; it is much broader. An example is provided by the visit to our country of Brazilian President Jose Sarney which ended this week. This was the first event of its kind, on that level, in the history of our two states. The visit culminated in the signing of a declaration of the principles of interaction in the name of peace and international cooperation: No one has any doubt that this document will give a new boost to the development of Soviet-Brazilian contacts. One of the most important parts of the declaration is that which deals with the problem of resolving chronic regional conflicts. The sides agreed that the warmer political climate in the world has created the possibility of a breakthrough toward resolving them.

[Volskiy] I think the Brazilian president's visit to the Soviet Union and the documents signed during that visit also prove something else: namely, our new approach to the developing states of the Third World as a whole. Brazil is one of the most dynamically developing of those states, but its development is fraught with many contradictions. The social stratification of the country, for

example, is very great: It is following the typically capitalist path, which allows foreign capital to operate freely. All this, however, is no obstacle to expanding Soviet-Brazilian contacts because we now stand firmly for each country's freedom to chose its own path of development. This is very important, in part because it lays a healthy foundation both for the development of cooperation and, at the same time, for resolving regional conflicts. These conflicts, as you know—as you've just been saying—are corroding Latin America, Asia, and Africa in particular.

[Vedenyapin] That is my cue to remind you that at his meeting with President Sarney, Comrade Gorbachev said this: It is a requirement of the times that the regional hotbeds of tension be cleared away. This year has seen a serious change for the better on this sore subject for the international community.

[Volskiy] The time has indeed come when not only is that disease treated theoretically, but in a practical way. It's true that a whole chain of efforts can be traced, virtually across the globe. No doubt we'll be talking in detail today about Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq war which is now at an end; but to these one must add other situations that are being resolved. As an example, this week President Botha of the Republic of South Africa is due to meet President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, who has been acting as intermediary in resolving the problems in southern Africa.

Or take a different region entirely: Cyprus, where a situation of total stalemate has continued, I think, for 14 years. Now that deadlock has been broken. In the Western Sahara the problem is being solved; a plan has already been drawn up for solving the issue, and now it's just a matter of working out a few of the details. There again, a quite acute issue is being resolved, and one that has poisoned the atmosphere in the whole continent of Africa for many years. In Chad, it's the same story. The Chad-Libya conflict is also approaching some sort of final...

[Vedenyapin, interrupting] So in short, there's plenty of evidence of the correctness of the conclusion Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev drew in his speech.

[Volskiy] But I also want to add, finally, Cambodia. That's another very important regional conflict, and again, this week or sometime very soon, a meeting is scheduled between the UN secretary general and Prince Sihanouk. Altogether the United Nations, and the secretary general personally, have recently been playing a very active role in the process of resolving—I would say—almost all the regional conflicts. And this is generally gratifying. It is in keeping with our own position, in that we advocate doing everything possible to increase the role of the United Nations in solving international problems in general, and regional conflicts perhaps in particular.

But of course it has to be said that we also see resistance to this process—the process of settlement. If we now look at a wide range of situations, we can discern what you might call a front, a global front, I would even say, of opponents to resolving regional problems—from the implacable opposition in Afghanistan to the Pol Pot clique, or a substantial proportion of the white community in the Republic of South Africa. All these forces rely, of course, on the support of Washington; and there I suppose it's anyone's guess whether after the election such support will continue more or less at previous levels, or whether U.S. policy will undergo some sort of transformation.

[Belyayev] In any case I, for example, am filled with enthusiasm by the report that at the last meeting between Shevardnadze and Shultz, there was a quite vigorous discussion of regional conflicts. That is, if you like, something positive, and something positive that is being felt in many parts of the world. But at the same time, if we return to the situation surrounding Afghanistan, or to the situation in Iran and the Near East, then here there are a great many symptoms indicating resistance, if you like, to resolving the most acute regional conflicts. I want, actually, to extend the brackets just a little. What do I mean when I say that we're witnessing today a worsening of the internal political situation in Afghanistan as a result of the action of outside forces? You see, we've now gotten used to the fact that, having signed the Geneva agreements as a guarantor, the United States is still supplying arms to the Afghan counterrevolution, providing it with money and inciting it to all sorts of acts of heroism, in quotation marks, against the revolutionary regime in Kabul.

But at the same time the Americans are now trying to achieve other aims as well. They've picked on Afghanistan, you see, as a sort of back door by which to get back into Iran. They've spoken and written about this quite openly in the past years, and in saying it I am not exposing America. The Americans are currently attempting to promote the realization of their far-reaching plans to establish a so-called Islamic covering force [Zaslon] on the southern frontiers of the Soviet Union. What sort of barrier would this be?

The Americans made no secret of the fact that they were thoroughly frightened when the limited Soviet contingent entered Afghanistan in 1979. However many times I, for example, have been trying for almost 10 years to repeat one and the same truth—that the Soviet Union will go no further and that we have no claim to any part of the Gulf- - we're wasting our breath. The Pentagon, I've been told, is convinced that the Soviet Union's aggressive intentions in this respect are perfectly clear-cut and obvious: You're only retreating because you have in mind to repeat the push that failed to materialize in 1979-80. And now the Iranians have accepted Resolution 598 and ceased fire on the fronts—this was, after all, not simply the result, if you like, of the military defeats sustained by the Iranian Army in recent months.

[Volskiy] In any case, of an absence of victory of any kind.

[Belyayev] That, yes. But at the same time, there was something else. At the beginning of March, Iran stated that it did not accept the Geneva agreements and, moreover, was going to help the Afghan mujahidin, or counterrevolution, and that the centers of subversive activity against revolutionary Afghanistan would be transferred from Pakistan to Iran. I remind you that there are 2 million refugees in Iran.

[Volskiy] Yes.

[Belyayev] Incidentally, we never mention these refugees. Why, to tell the truth, I don't know. However, nonetheless this will be the new base for the same activity, which can, in short, be called an attempt to export the Iranian Islamic revolution to neighboring countries. Not, however, to Iraq, where this operation failed, but to Afghanistan, where the Seven, headed by the Islamic party and the same Hekmatyar who is the head of that party, have set themselves the task of setting up an Islamic republic in Afghanistan and of declaring an Islamic revolution. Only then, they say, will a start have been made to create an Islamic buffer on the Soviet Union's southern border.

[Volskiy] I think, Igor Petrovich, that here the contradiction between the Sunni and Shi'ite Islamic movements will have an unfavorable role to play with regard to those plans of which you have quite rightly spoken. Don't you think that this line will be difficult to surmount, nonetheless?

[Belayev] Yes, there is a barrier, but let me remind you that there are Shi'ites in Afghanistan and the first, the first uprising against the revolutionary regime in Kabul was that of March 1979 in Herat, the very province inhabited by Afghan Shi'ites. Now the new head of Herat's Muslim community has been killed in order to sow discontent among the Afghan Shi'ites and thus to provoke the uprising currently needed by both Americans and Iranians. However, I would like to draw attention to one more circumstance. Ziaul Haq, president of Pakistan, died on 17 August. There are two versions: One of these has been published here, the American one about technical faults. But here is the other version: An article by WASHINGTON POST correspondent John Magee sets out a short version of the report on the results of the investigation into the circumstances of the plane crash in which the president of Pakistan died. It indicates that during the flight, some kind of asphyxiating gas penetrated the pilot's cabin and, basically, as a result, the plane crashed. The bodies of the crew members were not investigated and there is no evidence that these individuals died prior to the crash. Further on, the article says that in private, representatives of the administration say that the short version of the report contains little specific information and that it remains difficult to assess the cause of the disaster. The Pakistani committee investigating the disaster, however, asserts outright that there was an act of sabotage.

Thus, in searching for the reason why, after all, this accident took place, here's what I would think about: Ziaul Haq had recently been getting in the Americans' way, not because he was conducting a policy of supporting the Afghan counterrevolution poorly but because he was doing this from a Pakistani position. He very much wanted to see a pro-Pakistan government in Kabul that would help him solve the Pushtun problem and live freely on the Pakistan-Afghanistan frontier—but the Americans had no need of this. They now need everything to detonate the internal political situation in Afghanistan, and I find the very latest reports out of Afghanistan appearing in the world press very, very alarming. Several provinces in which our troops were stationed have already been seized and, moreover, it seems to me that the advent of Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov, first deputy USSR foreign minister and an eminent Soviet diplomant, as the Soviet Union's ambassador, speaks for itself. We are now, essentially, to witness whether the Americnas will or will not be able to create a situation in Afghanistan that will add both Afghanistan and Iran to their Islamic buffer which they deem so necessary.

[Volskiy] Here is some other food for thought: Do all the forces in the democratic circles really recognize the need for a new approach to mutually acceptable compromises? For the sake of fairness, I believe it has to be said that far from all do. In general this is understandable from a pyschological viewpoint, since recognizing the need to compromise is no simple mattter. There often has to be a sharing of power, power won in hard and difficult, possibly even bloody struggle, and concessions have to be made unwillingly, shaking the hands of those with whom, only yesterday, as it were, you crossed swords. All of this, of course, is not easy, but the facts show that military force no longer works in solving regional problems. Political solutions that reflect the will of the masses, the will of the people—the more the better, of course—only solutions of this sort can be stable and permanent at the present time, as well as lead to a genuine resolution of the problems on the basis, as we now say, of a balance of interests.

[Belyayev] That, I would say, is the most difficult point in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. The balance of interests is, incidentally, being taken into account by the Palestinians, and there are now three groups of Palestinians speaking out. Some, the majority, more than 60 percent, are in favor of a single, binational state; the second group favors the creation of an independent Palestinian state but one that lives in peace with Israel, taking into account the security interests of the latter, incidentally; and finally, there is the third group that is in favor, and this is the minority, of achieving it all by other means—in other words, nonpolitical means. They make up 16 percent. This enumeration of the percentages

makes me, for example, very enthusiastic, but I am not all that enthusiastic about the stance of Shamir, or that of Peres. If we are talking about the specifics of Israel's approach, that country will hold general elections on 1 November. The situation is very interesting in the following regard: Not one of the major parties can win an absolute majority. They are saying this doesn't matter, that what does matter is that their coalition parties get as many votes as possible. Then future alliances will crystallize as things develop and will, they say, help solve the problems linked to the Israel-Arab conflict.

But the thing is, you see, that not a single one of the major figures is taking into account what is happening on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. Let me remind you: At the start of the uprising Rabin was in the United States and then, in December 1987, he said that order would be imposed there in a matter of days. These days have lasted more than 10 months. Moreover, the uprising is growing and it now has the precise goal of convening an international conference on the Near East.

It is most unfortunate that this appeal does not find a response in the hearts of the Israelis. Therefore, this balance of interests we are campaigning for and which, it seems, would provide an opportunity of moving toward a solution to the most entrenched and most urgent conflict... [changes thought] This is why the Near East is called a powder keg. We will see, of course, what happens after the elections, but I think that if Shamir remains in power or there is another national unity government, it is hardly likely to lead to any really serious approach to solving the Arab-Israeli conflict in the immediate future.

[Vedenyapin] Igor Petrovich, in the context of the correlation of all the forces you have mentioned and the development of all these events in the Near East, how, I wonder, do you see the fate of the Palestinian uprising? After all, 9 months have passed. What next?

[Belyayev] It seems that the uprising itself will continue for the following reason: Not long ago, the Israeli authorities not only started using plastic bullets and highly toxic gas, but also imposed enormous taxes on Arab merchants in Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip. The merchants threw up their hands. They had been the most zealous supporters of cooperation with the Israeli authorities and they were being made into enemies. So they are saying, if that's how it's going to be, then we'll join the uprising too. In other words, everything depends on the policy of the Israeli Government formed after the general elections of 1 November 1988. I am putting my trust in common sense, but it is most unfortunate that there is no Israeli De Gaulle in Tel Aviv.

[Vedenyapin] No indeed, judging by preliminary assessments, there is no particular cause for counting on common sense there.

[Belyayev] Yes, that's the whole point.

[Volskiy] We are saying that it is really difficult to establish a balance of interests in the Near East, but it seems to me that it is not much easier to establish this in the Far East. This is because in this region too, in response to our peace initiatives which are coming one after the other and which are of a very, I would say, dynamic nature, the military activeness of the United States and its allies is increasing. The latest example of this was, I would say, political—the new accord with the Philippines on military bases. It seems to me that this example of the bases indeed shows that the gamble on military, confrontational methods may backfire. See for yourself. Not only does this agreement still have to be ratified in the Philippines Congress, and those who are taking a special interest in this believe that the situation may turn out to be very difficult—it may not pass. It may get through, or it may not. Moreover, the whole issue of whether or not to renew the treaty on these bases comes up in 1991, which is not far off.

[Vedenyapin] In 1991, then, the very question of the existence of the bases will be examined....

[Volskiy, interrupting] The very issue of the existence of these bases and the extension of this agreement. Now, as a result of the present agreement this problem is attracting universal, I would say, agitated attention in the Philippines. It is becoming the focus of political life in the Philippines, which the Americans, the owners of these bases, are interested in least of all, you see. This problem may serve as a catalyst for an antiwar, antimilitarist movement in the Philippines and throughout the Asia-Pacific region. Here again there is a certain objective basis for this. This region is developing dynamically and quickly; the economy of many of its countries now have growth rates running into double figures. In these conditions confrontation, military and militaristic escapades—for example the large-scale maneuvers that the Americans and the Japanese are intending to conduct not far from our sea borders—all looks like some sort of anachronism that is hampering the objective processes occurring in this area.

Economic cooperation is needed. At the present time different models of this cooperation are being examined. You know that there is such a model, for example, of cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region on the basis of Soviet natural resources from our Far East, Japanese technology, and Chinese manpower. I think that later there may be some other models, for instance when our Far East receives new impetus for industrial development. But nonetheless, the very fact that these large-scale ideas for development, cooperation, and coproduction are being discussed in a peaceful and businesslike way in the Asia-Pacific region, where it once seemed that only the movement of naval fleets was of importance, seems very significant to me.

[Belyayev] There's something more I'd like to say: During the Soviet-Brazilian talks, much attention was paid to another very topical issue for the developing states,

the issue of foreign debts with due regard for the interests of all countries. This would allow the developing states to safeguard the process of economic development.

[Vedenyapin] This is very closely linked with the problem of resolving regional conflicts directly. You mentioned a foreign debt of a trillion. Yes, $1 trillion is undoubtedly a huge sum for the Third World countries.

[Volskiy] One trillion, two hundred...

[Vedenyapin, interrupting] I don't think anyone is attempting to give the exact figure. It is virtually unknown. But what is interesting is that the sum in itself is not critical for the economy, for the capitalist economy. For instance, the two hundred largest multinational corporations have an annual turnover amounting to $3 trillion. A trillion dollars is spent on armaments in the world every year. Virtually all countries are debtors, and the United States is the biggest debtor. Therefore, the danger is not the size, not so much the size of this debt, as the rate of its growth. The point is that on average the debts of the developing countries go up by 9.5 percent per year, and this debt swells through the accumulation of unpaid credit and not through the granting of new credit. The countries with the largest debts—to recap, Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, and Venezuala—in 4 years they alone have paid interest amounting to almost $120 billion and over this time they have received in the form of new loans less than $30 billion. So it turns out that the Third World, where half a billion people are starving and destitute, is subsidizing the economies of the countries that are flourishing.

[Volskiy] But there is another paradox. It is not without reason that we talk about the interdependence of the present world. Here's a specific example: The West has had cause in its time to fret a good deal when there has been a danger of financial ruin for the several dozen states that purchase the its agricultural produce. In order to preserve this market for itself, the West has had to think seriously about ways of allocating new credit to its debtors. In a word, it turns out that whether they like it or not, the Western creditors are, as it were, forced to continue to supply credit to the debtors so as not to harm themselves by giving rise to the problem of their debtors' insolvency. To this end the so-called conversion, the exchange of private promissory notes for shares in enterprises in developing countries, was chosen as one of the ways of clearing the debts. This does not ensure a flow of capital to the interested country, but it provides an opportunity for acquiring its industry cheaply.

[Vedenyapin] Essentially this is the old colonial policy, confirming once again that the West is not at all striving to provide the Third World with economic sovereignty. Incidentally, if one is to be completely honest, the East obviously cannot do this either, with its much more modest resources which it needs, to be frank, particularly now that they are essential for restructuring. It is clear that the debt problem can evidently not be solved either by the payment of the debts or by writing them off completely. Neither one nor the other is realistic. In this sense one of the key issues is the problem of disarmament, not only for the major powers but for the deveioping countries themselves. In the year before last alone the cost of arms imports by Third World countries came to more than $30 billion, which is more than half of the sums they received in economic development aid. But the reasons here are clear: the same regional conflicts, chronic hostility, and so on. Here it is difficult not to agree, first and foremost, that the developing countries evidently need to formulate a realistic, collective program to ensure their economic security, a program in which disarmament should probably play a key part.

Well, comrades, our time has run out. We thank the radio listeners for their attention. Goodbye comrades, all the best.

Prospects for CEMA-EEC Relations Examined

PM2410144788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Vladimir Peresada "Viewpoint": "Separately, but Together"]

[Text] How does the time, or—to be more precise—the spirit of the times, influence assessments of particular events and phenomena? Today our press is analyzing in all earnestness the process of creating a single market in West Europe, and people are forecasting the prospects for developing such a market in light of cooperation with CEMA countries.

What has brought about this shift of opinion? It is not, of course, the integration processes per se: Being objective processes, they have happened and are happening, whatever one may say. But approaches in both sections of Europe to the economic organization of the "contiguous side" have undergone substantial changes. The new political thinking has done its job. In my opinion, the recognition in both the East and West of the continent of the reality of the intercomplementariness and interdependence of their economic structures, and correspondingly of the need for and mutual advantageousness of cooperation, is one of the most essential manifestations of this thinking and is of fundamental importance not only for Europe but also for the entire international community.

It is especially important that this recognition has a concrete result. The establishment several months ago of official CEMA-EEC relations has not only removed the age-old estrangement between the two largest international economic groupings but has also opened the way to seeking practical spheres for collaboration. Moreover, between CEMA and the EEC as a whole and on the basis of individual states' bilateral relations with them. A whole group of socialist countries, including the Soviet

Union, have also expressed readiness to establish such relations, and Hungary became the first CEMA member to sign a trade and economic agreement with the "Common Market."

Of course, it is no easy matter to organize collaboration. There are still the obstructions of the past, such as the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [Cocom] lists of banned goods, which restricts trading opportunities with socialist states in modern equipment and technology (although people in West Europe are perfectly well aware that we will not take goods that are old hat). There also remain differences in the approach of various EEC countries to economic ties with CEMA members. Lastly, there is a marked difference in the very principles of both organizations' activity. But you cannot fail to see that there are today, I would say, unprecedentedly favorable opportunities for advancing the cause of cooperation in Europe.

The unofficial meeting of 12 EEC states' foreign ministers that closed recently in Ioannina (northern Greece) served as a reminder of this once again. Attention was focused on questions of relations between the "Common Market" and European socialist countries. It is typical that, despite certain nuances in the speeches, the meeting's participants were unanimous on the main issue—the need to broaden ties with us. And not only economic ties. A decision has been adopted to elaborate a political statement on relations with the socialist part of Europe, which will be presented to the next meeting of EEC states' leaders due to convene in December. We can only welcome this kind of approach, which reflects commitment to organizing multilateral dialogue and relations that accord with the requirements and realities of the day.

Of course it is important not to waste time and not to allow the inertia of that protracted period which, to put it mildly, was "low in productivity," to have its effect. I think that the legacy of this inertia can still manifest itself not only in the West but also in Eastern Europe. That is why, evidently, a mechanism for direct business ties between CEMA and the "Common Market" should be set up now as promptly as possible, and current cooperation in the most diverse spheres should be broadened more actively. It is extremely significant that the 44th CEMA session held in Prague provided for interested CEMA countries to move gradually in the future toward the formation of a unified market. Consequently we will also have to resolve, albeit in our own way, problems that EEC countries have already encountered: the introduction of a single customs tariff, a unified trading policy, the improvement of currency relations, and so on. There is a tremendous amount of work ahead. We must look a little more closely into how we can use some of the West Europeans' experience in our own interests.

Undoubtedly both processes of economic integration on the continent are proceeding independently, each along its own path. But they do have points of contact, and it must be hoped that more of them will arise. It is only important for these processes to promote the implementation of one of the strategic ideas of the new thinking: Onward from a divided Europe to the all-European home.

Northeast Asia

Commentary on Soviet-Japanese Roundtable

PM2110150388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Second Edition p 7

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov commentary: "Embarking on the Road of Good-Neighborliness. Notes From a Participant in the Soviet-Japanese Roundtable"]

[Text] Approximately 400 representatives of the Soviet and Japanese public, myself included, have concluded the latest—the sixth—roundtable (since 1979 they have been held in Tokyo and Moscow alternately).

During a period of difficulties for Soviet-Japanese relations and when interstate dialogue had almost died out, such meetings served as a valuable channel for people's diplomacy owing to their regularity and widespread popularity. The roundtable conferences accumulated a great many ideas and proposals to do with bilateral cooperation and had a positive effect on the climate of Soviet-Japanese relations.

The conference' final document records that it was noteworthy for the fact that this time the conference examined questions of USSR-Japanese bilateral relations not in isolation but in a regional and global context, that is, in close connection with the problems of security in the Asia-Pacific region and with the overall trends of contemporary world development. In this respect the new Soviet initiatives expounded by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk greatly influenced the substance of the debate.

Both Soviet and Japanese participants in the meeting voiced well-founded alarm regarding the shifting of the most dangerous seat of military tension in the world. As the business of nuclear and conventional arms reduction in Europe advances, so the Asia-Pacific region is increasingly becoming the main seat of tension. Especially since—unlike the European system of confidence-building measures—there is no mechanism to supervise and monitor the sides' military activity. It was noted at the roundtable conference that USSR and Japanese interests regarding the military-political situation in the northwestern Pacific substantially coincide. The public of both states is worried about similar problems: the buildup in military—naval, above all—activity in direct proximity to Soviet and Japanese territory.

The program of measures put forward in Krasnoyarsk makes it possible to remove the reasons for such alarm. In particular, the proposal has been made to discuss on a multilateral basis the question of how to reduce military confrontation in areas where the shores of the Soviet Union, China, Japan, and North and South Korea converge, with a view to freezing and proportionally reducing the level of naval and air forces and limiting their activity. We asked our partners to tell us about the Japanese attitude toward the statement that the USSR will not increase the quantity of any nuclear weapons in the Asia-Pacific region and calls upon the United States to follow this example.

Yoshio Sakurauchi, president of the Japanese-Soviet Friendship Parliamentary Association and a Liberal-Democratic member of the House of Representatives, stated that the Soviet leader's new proposals have generated great interest in Japan. Both the public and official circles welcome the Soviet Union's growing attention to the problems of the Asia-Pacific region. That is the overall view given by the Japanese delegation head. However, in more specific terms our partners' views were by no means unequivocal. For instance, Minoru Mijuta, Socialist Party [JSP] member of parliament, called urgently for practical discussion of the Krasnoyarsk proposals to begin. He stated that Japan could in many respects help ease tension in the northwestern Pacific and on the Korean peninsula. An international conference of countries bordering on the Sea of Japan, as advocated by the JSP, would create favorable opportunities for this.

Other Japanese speakers were more pessimistic. In their opinion, official Tokyo is in fact brushing off the Krasnoyarsk program like it effectively disregarded the Vladivostok program. For almost all the Soviet proposals in one way or another concern the United States and its military presence in the Asia-Pacific region. Since Japan, they said, is not a nuclear power—unlike Britain and France—it is allegedly unable to prompt the United States to embark on the path of nuclear disarmament in Asia, something that its NATO allies achieved in Europe.

However, that's by no means the point. According to reliable data to which the United Nations recently became privy, the United States is superior in the Asia-Pacific region by factors of more than 3 and 10 respectively in terms of warships and deck aviation. That is why Washington—which eagerly goes on and on about the "asymmetries" in central Europe—flatly refuses to take part in talks on the limitation of naval activity in the Far East.

Some of our partners made any Japanese involvement in building an "all-Asian home" conditional upon the laying of a reliable foundation—by which they mean the Soviet Union's renunciation of the "northern territories." However, many Japanese roundtable participants deemed it unreasonable to turn the "territorial question" into a stumbling block to the development of bilateral relations in all areas. They stressed that contentious problems could only be resolved on the basis of mutually acceptable compromise and referred, in particular, to the precedent of Japanese-Chinese relations, where the question of the ownership of the island of Senkaku was left to the discretion of future generations.

When discussing the problems of economic cooperation the conference devoted particular attention to the creation of joint enterprises as the most promising avenue. The meeting's participants called for an improvement in the Soviet legislation governing joint enterprises and special economic zones to take into consideration contemporary experience accumulated abroad and, in particular, in China.

The Japanese roundtable participants welcomed the idea of creating a house of Soviet-Japanese friendship in Moscow on cooperative principles with joint enterprises serving it. (PRAVDA has already mentioned this project in its 16 October edition). An agreed document recorded that they deem it their duty to provide the requisite aid in setting up and aiding the activity of such a complex.

The participants in the sixth roundtable conference stressed in the joint document that the "development of Soviet-Japanese relations must be based on a foundation of realism and balance of both countries'interests." It is very important to establish that, since it opens up the way to genuine good-neighborliness between the two peoples.

Planned U.S. Naval Exercise Denounced

OW2310140188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Solton commentary]

[Text] According to Japan's SANKEI SHIMBUN report, the United States will hold a naval exercise in West Pacific next year. Solton, a reporter of this station, has the following comments on the event:

A military exercise is a common event and all countries hold military exercises regularly. However, the above-mentioned naval exercise is not an ordinary one. According to the Japanese press report, the Pentagon plans to hold the joint military exercise in the Asian-Pacific region. A large fleet consisting of 4 aircraft-carrier groups and other naval ships, 2 or 3 army divisions, and some 500 aircraft, including nuke-carrying B-52 strategic bombers, will participate in the military exercise which is code-named PACEX. The participants to the military exercise will include U.S. troops from the U.S. continent, Hawaii, South Korea, Japan, and the Philippines. The participants will also include U.S. allies in the Asian-Pacific region. The military exercise will cover a vast sea area of Okhotsk, Japan, and South Korea. In other words, it will be held in the area near the borders of the Soviet Union, China, and Democratic Korea. It even plans to hold simulated exercise of U.S. marine landing on the Soviet Union's Kamchaka and Kuril Islands.

It arouses people's attention that the plan to hold the PACEX military exercise was announced at a time when the Asian-Pacific nations are comprehensively discussing the proposal made by Gorbachev at Krasnoyarsk several months ago. The Soviet proposal calls for improving regional situation, easing tension, reducing arms, and changing military policies. The U.S. response is this planned large-scale military provocation which will seriously worsen the situation in the Asian-Pacific region.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Journal Cited on U.S. Policy in Asia-Pacific

LD2210165788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0643 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Oct (TASS)—In Washington's policy in the Asian-Pacific Region ("APR") a special place is taken up by the the task to ensure the United States' hegemony there, the magazine "PROBLEMS OF THE FAR EAST" (PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA) writes.

The article stresses that the present U.S. Administration's doctrine vis-a-vis the APR is spearheaded towards militarizing the Pacific Ocean and creating in this region an actively operating base "of direct confrontation" with the Soviet Union.

In the past few years, the magazine points out, the U.S. leadership has taken a series of major strategic decisions on the reorganization of its armed forces in the APR, their modernization and strengthening. In the Pacific Ocean offensive strategic weapons are being deployed and a structure for waging nuclear war, including operations within the SDI framework, is being created. The U.S. Navy in the world's largest ocean is being equipped with "Tomahawk" missiles with nuclear warheads and is being replenished with dozens of new combat vessels, including a nuclear aircraft carrier and submarines of the "Ohio" type with "Trident-2" missiles.

Washington is assigning a special role to the northern part of the Pacific Ocean and, in particular, to the Bering Sea, along the shores of which, the magazine (?writes), runs a section of the Northern Sea Passage which was opened up by the Soviet merchant fleet. According to the assessment of Admiral Nikolay Smirnov, deputy commander in chief of the USSR Fleet, the United States has concentrated in the immediate vicinity of Soviet territory, in particular in the Far East, "battle groups, commensurable with war time groups."

The line toward militarizing the Pacific Ocean and especially turning it into a nuclear war theater is impeding the movement for the prevention of nuclear weapons, which is gathering strength in the region, the magazine observes. In this connection the United States wages a struggle against the Treaty of Raratonga; invariably opposes the idea itself of nuclear-free zones, in particular in the Korean peninsula and in Southeast Asia; criticizes its allies, for instance, Australia; even applies reprisals, for instance, against New Zealand for its antinuclear stance; and disregards the antimilitary

clauses of the constitution and the nuclear-free principles of Japan, imposing on it militarization and reception of U.S. ships carrying nuclear weapons on board.

The article says in conclusion that the U.S. side is so far also unreceptive to the Soviet initiatives aimed at lessening the threat of nuclear war, narrowing the geographical sphere of nuclear preparations, strengthening the regime of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and creating in the APR a climate of trust and security, and developing constructive mutually advantageous cooperation.

Jakarta Working Group Meets on Cambodian Issue

CPV Daily Comments on Talks

LD2410022588 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Hanoi October 23 TASS—The new proposals put forward by the three countries of Indochina at the Jakarta meeting of the working group on the Kampuchean issue contain constructive measures and could become a basis for a just political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, points out NHAN DAN, newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), in comment on the results of the meeting which has come to a close in the capital of Indonesia. However, the results cannot be described as fully satisfactory and meeting the aspirations of the public at large of the countries of the region and of the whole world.

The absense of Khmer Rouge representatives from the meeting made it impossible to hold a resultative discussion of the internal aspect of the problem, the newpaper writes. Besides, this time some ASEAN countries, Thailand, in particular, took up a non-constructive attitude. Bangkok's demand for military aid for the opposition Khmer groups is a departure from the accords reached at the previous informal meeting and runs counter to the world public demand for preventing a return of the Pol Pot genocidal regime to Kampuchea, NHAN DAN emphasizes.

The Vietnamese side consistently comes out in favour of solving the Kampuchean problem through talks, and supports the efforts of all the parties in a search for ways to settle the problem in a fair way.

To develop the dialogue is the only right way in the process of looking for a joint solution, the newspaper of the CPV Central Committee writes in conclusion.

TV Reports Meeting

OW1810152288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1145 GMT 18 Oct 88

["The World Today" program; presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] Let us now turn to another part of the world, Southeast Asia. Steps are being taken here for the peaceful normalization of the Cambodian problem. Meetings of the working group dealing with this question have begun in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia. Representatives of various Cambodian groups, except for the so-called Khmer Rouge, are taking part in this meeting. This is seen as a refusal by the leadership of the Pol Pot group to take part in the political normalization of the Cambodian problem.

In connection with this, Hun Sen, the chairman of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, expressed confidence that his forthcoming Paris meeting with Prince Norodom Sihanouk will be a significant step along the road to establishing peace in the interest of all the Cambodian people.

In a letter addressed to the UN Secretary General, Hun Sen noted that the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia is being carried out in accordance with the agreed schedule. At the same time, the head of the Cambodian Government emphasized that this withdrawal must be accompanied with guarantees that the Pol Pot criminals, who are guilty of genocide, will not be allowed to come to power in Cambodia.

Comment on Draft Resolution

BK2410071588 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, we would like to draw your attention to the situation around Cambodia where the process of national reconciliation is facing various obstacles.

A draft resolution on Cambodia has been publicized at the United Nations. As a matter of fact, this document amounts to interference in Cambodia's internal affairs. The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry has stated that this draft strays toward confrontation and does not conform to the positive tendencies which were shaped up at the informal meeting in Indonesia.

It has been stated in Hanoi that the 50,000 Vietnamese Army volunteers scheduled to be withdrawn from Cambodia this year are now being withdrawn every month and the last unit of these troops will be withdrawn from Cambodia in December this year.

Last week, an international meeting on the Cambodian problem was held in Jakarta. Our correspondent reported that attending this meeting were six ASEAN member countries, delegations from Vietnam and Laos, and a representative of the three Cambodian parties. The Khmer Rouge, however, refused to take part. Despite the absence of the Khmer Rouge, the meeting managed to come up with some recommendations for the second informal meeting to be held in Jakarta in December this year or January next year, and the participants discussed, among other things, the question of forming a future Cambodian coalition government.

The main aspect of the Cambodian problem, according to observers, rests in how to prevent the Pol Pot clique from returning to power.

Gerasimov Supports SRV Note

BK2010041588 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Commenting on the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry's 18 October statement, Comrade Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Office, said: The Soviet side supports Vietnam's standpoints, considering that a policial solution to the situation in Cambodia can only be reached by the development of dialogue and cooperation among the countries in the region and various Cambodian factions and not by confrontation.

Comrade Gerasimov also pointed out that the absence of the Khmer Rouge delegates from the 17 October Jakarta meeting of the working group without explanation is not an insurmountable obstacle to the group's successful work. The Soviet Union supports the efforts of the working group aimed at consolidating the process of settling the situation in Cambodia.

He added: The joint communique of the Defense Ministries of Vietnam and the PRK on the withdrawal of 50,000 of Vietnamese volunteer troops from Cambodia from now till the end of 1988 affirms these two countries' determination to honor their pledges to withdraw a large part of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia in 1988. It also affirms their honest intention in this matter.

Radio Commentary on 'Obstacles'

OW2410133788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] At present, the Khmer Rouge issue is always mentioned in any news report about Cambodia. What is the essence of this issue? Why has it attracted so much attention? Alekseyev, an observer of this station, has the following comments on the issue:

I would like to tell you some facts of not long ago. In the international community, the so-called Khmer Rouge means the Pol Pot clique that held power in Cambodia for 44 months in the late 1970's. The Pol Pot clique massacred more than 3 million people in Cambodia under the pretext of eliminating poisonous capitalist weeds. This is a miserable page in history. The Khmer Rouge has been expelled from Cambodia, but it has found shelter abroad. Its leaders, clinging to their ambitious designs, want to seize power in Cambodia. If their scheme succeeds, it is not hard to imagine how miserable the Cambodian people will become then.

The appeal for preventing the restoration of the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia not only reflects the principled stand of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its allies and friends, but also represents the viewpoint of the majority of the people in the world. Here, let us discuss the ASEAN nations. At the Bogor meeting of all Cambodian parties in June [as heard], the ASEAN nations unanimously said that a pledge to prevent the Khmer Rouge from regaining power is one of the important conditions for settling the Cambodian issue. Washington now is also taking such a stand. During a recent meeting between Sihanouk and President Reagan, Reagan maintained that the Khmer Rouge must not be permitted to seize power and all military aid to them should be stopped completely. At present, it is pressingly imperative to stop military aid to the Khmer Rouge.

The Khmer Rouge leaders have repeatedly said that they are opposed to holding talks with other Cambodian parties and to settling the Cambodian issue in a spirit of national reconciliation. For instance, the Khmer Rouge did not attend the meeting of different Cambodian political forces held in Jakarta several days ago. At present, the Khmer Rouge is saber-rattling and wants to seize power in Cambodia because it has foreign aid. The Khmer Rouge is the major obstacle to restoration of peace in Cambodia. All the people who want to see success among the Cambodian people and an improved situation in Southeast Asia and the Asian-Pacific region also hope for peace in Cambodia.

CPSU Delegation Leaves for New Zealand

PM2110131388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Departs"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by Comrade A.A. Seleznev, first secretary of Kursk CPSU Obkom, left for New Zealand 18 October to attend the Eighth National Conference of the New Zealand Socialist Unity Party.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev To Receive Peace Award in India

LD2510094288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0503 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] New Delhi, Oct 25 (TANJUG)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, who arrives in India on November 19 for a three-day visit, will receive the 1987 Indira Gandhi Award for Peace, Disarmament and Development—an official announcement here says.

Gorbachev is awarded for his "foresighted proposals which virtually opened the positive process of nuclear disarmament, and for his version of a world free of violence and nuclear weapons."

During Gorbachev's visit, several cooperation agreements will be signed on: Raising the trade value from this year's 50 billion to 60 billion rupees in 1989, delivering to India two 1,000-megawatt nuclear-power reactors, and ceding to Indian factories a licence for MiG-29 aircraft as was made known during the recent visit here of Soviet Defence Minister Dmitry Yazov.

Also expected to be reached is accord on cooperation in space research and on the construction of a joint space centre in India.

Arab Daily Says Soviets To Float Peace Plan

JN2210202888 Manama WAKH in English 1557 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Abu Dhabi, Oct 22 (GNA)—The Soviet Union is currently undertaking a new diplomatic initiative aiming at starting a Middle East peace process and holding of an international Middle East peace conference early next year, AL-ITTIHAD newspaper reported.

The paper, quoting diplomatic sources in Washington, said that Soviet diplomats are currently conducting contacts to get more information from the concerned parties as a preliminary to Moscow's new diplomatic drive.

The sources told AL-ITTIHAD that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will start a tour of the Middle East "soon" to hold talks with concerned parties on ways of achieving peace in the region.

The Soviet Union will float its initiative immediately after the Israeli and United States presidential elections and will concentrate on holding the international Middle East peace conference with the participation of all concerned parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation—PLO—the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, it said.

Sheverdnadze Reportedly To Tour Middle East Soon

JN2210081888 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 0740 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 22 Oct (WAM)—AL-ITTIHAD has said that the USSR is now preparing a new diplomatic initiative to embark on the peace process in the Middle East and convene an international peace conference at the beginning of next year. AL-ITTIHAD adds that Soviet diplomats are currently holding contacts to explore the stands of the concerned parties in prepartion to start the move on which the Soviet leadership decided to embark during the coming period. Citing official diplomatic sources in Washington, AL-ITTIHAD says that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Sheverdnadze will soon tour the Middle East to hold important contacts with the parties concerned in the peace process in Cairo, Damascus, and Amman. Sheverdnadze will explore the Israeli stand in a direct meeting with the Israeli foreign minister, following the Israeli elections, in a European capital.

The newspaper says that the USSR will make its initiative after the U.S. and Israeli elections. AL-ITTIHAD adds that the USSR will concentrate its efforts on convening the international conference to be attended by all concerned parties, including the PLO and the five major powers.

Petrovskiy Interviewed on Mideast Issues

PM2110133188 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 21 Oct 88 pp 27, 28, 30

[Interview with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy by Raghidah Dirgham in New York; date unspecified]

[Excerpts] AL-HAWADITH: Before the General Assembly convened Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of State George Shultz met and discussed the Middle East problem. It was noted that there was a similarity between the U.S. speech and the Soviet speech at the General Assembly, especially with regard to the brief reference made to the Middle East. Does this mean that your talks have produced common stands and views which the two superpowers wish to maintain, so that they will not be affected by their usual differences over details?

Petrovskiy: With due respect to both yourself and the question, I disagree with your view that the Soviet Union made only a brief reference to that problem. Had you listened to the Soviet speech carefully, you would have known that we expressed a special interest and concern regarding the absence of the Middle East from the list of political solutions to current crises, which we consider abnormal, especially as the process of political solutions has begun throughout the world, and around the Middle East region in particular. On this basis, we were eager to accentuate the importance of the situation, indicating that some action must be taken. We have nothing more to add to the ideas we had already proposed regarding a working program. The time has come to do something.

AL-HAWADITH: And what prevents any move from being made? Did matters falter during the Shervardnadze-Shultz talks, or has this nothing to do with U.S.-Soviet framework?

Petrovskiy: The method maintained by both the Soviet Union and the United States regarding the Middle East problem is based on understanding over the final objective, that is, the objective of reaching a comprehensive solution. There is understanding between us over that point as well as over dynamism, collective action, and ways of finding a political solution to that problem. The problem is not to do with the U.S. view of that question. It is to do with another state. In fact there is now

international consensus, except for one state, that is, Israel. This is the problem. In our view, it is extremely important that the present international consensus now existing in the United Nations and other international organizations is used to initiate action toward finding a solution to that problem. [passage omitted]

AL-HAWADITH: U.S. acceptance of the idea of convening an international conference is nothing new. So in your view, what is new in the U.S. position that makes you say there is an international consensus at present?

Petrovskiy: In my opinion, the basic element is the fact that there is an understanding that the time is now right for us to back the declared understanding with practical steps.

AL-HAWADITH: In what field, exactly?

Petrovskiy: I mean practical steps, in the sense that we begin preliminary action or pave the way for a continuous action process.

AL-HAWADITH: Let us follow you in this process step by step: You said that there is only one state outside international consensus, namely Israel. So how will you in practice persuade Israel to join the international consensus?

Petrovskiy: The international community has always explained to Israel that nothing can guarantee secure existence other than an international conference. Because an international conference, especially under the spirit of the new political thinking, would guarantee the interests of all the parties concerned. The international community raised that idea at the General Assembly. For our part, we raised that point and explained the need for it during our meeting with the Israeli foreign minister.

AL-HAWADITH: And what else did you tell him apart from what you have mentioned? Did you discuss with him Israeli measures against the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza?

Petrovskiy: Yes. I raised this issue in a very strong way, especially with regard to the situation in the occupied territories and Israel's attitudes to it. I can say that the discussion of that situation was subject to strong argument to firmly establish the idea that a military solution is not the answer for the present situation, and what is needed now is to begin the political process within an international conference. [passage omitted]

AL-HAWADITH: How will the question of PLO participation and representation be dealt with?

Petrovskiy: Undoubtedly the PLO must be an integral part of the process, in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This is part of the picture. [passage omitted]

AL-HAWADITH: In the Soviet Union's view, do you approve of the PLO's announcing the establishment of a state?

Petrovskiy: That is up to the PLO. We respect the stands it adopts.

AL-HAWADITH: Does the Soviet Union agree to a return to the partition resolution 181 of 1947, which establishes an Israeli state and a Palestinian state? The PLO is referring to it as a basis for the Palestinians' right to a state and as a means for recognizing Israel as a state. Do you agree to a return to Resolution 181?

Petrovskiy: Once again, and in our view, these ideas are still in the air. I am talking about our foreign policy. We believe that all these political moves must be looked at within an international conference. The conference is the magnifying glass through which we must look at all political positions. To us the main criterion is the convening of an international conference as soon as possible, via which all problems in the region can be resolved.

AL-HAWADITH: One of the pending issues is how to include the PLO in the political process and the international conference, if you like. So what is required of the PLO in order for it to play its role? We know the U.S. conditions. So what Soviet ideas are proposed?

Petrovskiy: In our view, it is obvious that the PLO must be part of the process. The PLO is discussing that issue and knows our stand. And it must make decisions that would make the convening of an internal conference possible. [passage omitted]

AL-HAWADITH: Why does the Soviet Union not openly play a role in the Lebanese question? Is it because you consider this a U.S.-Syrian matter? Or is it because you do not care about Lebanon?

Petrovskiy: No. We are concerned about Lebanon. In fact we are extremely concerned. We believe that the situation in Lebanon is another indication of the need to convene an international conference. We also believe that it is safe for Lebanon to take all necessary measures to preserve its territorial integrity. [passage omitted]

AL-HAWADITH: George Shultz said that the Americans are discussing Lebanon with the Syrians, the French, and the Vatican. He did not mention the Soviet Union. Is it because there is no dialogue with you over Lebanon, or is it because the Soviet Union has no role in Lebanon?

Petrovskiy: The situation in Lebanon has developed since the meeting between Secretary Shultz and our minister in the middle of September. That is why the situation was not discussed. But during our talks we always adopt a very strong line regarding Lebanon's unity and territorial integrity.

AL-HAWADITH: And how are Soviet relations with Iraq and Iran developing? Have they changed since the cease-fire?

Petrovskiy: Our relations with both countries are very good. And this is not only in our interests, but in the interests of all states that wish to find a solution to the conflict between the two countries. Communication channels are open in order to participate in the process of ending the Iraq-Iran war. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Najibullah Talks Offer

LD2310014188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Aleksandr Malikov commentary]

[Text] An international conference is taking place in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, under the motto "Muslims in the Struggle for the Establishment of Universal Peace and Security, and for the Survival of Humanity". Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, spoke at the opening of the Islamic forum. He specifically stressed that the foreign political activity of the Afghan Government is aimed at settling international and national conflicts by means of dialogue and negotiations. President Najibullah again stressed his willingness to hold talks with the opposition in Afghanistan and with forces in the Islamic world that support it. He expressed confidence that peace would be secured on the territory of Afghanistan. And now the latest news commentary on this topic. Aleksandr Malikov is at the microphone.

[Malikov] In any conflict, the time comes when the strength and patience of the conflicting sides reaches its limit, and neither can gain the advantage. Then each side involuntarily strives to hasten an end to the conflict.

But by what measures? This is what is significant. By whipping up the confrontation or by leaning towards negotiations, towards the search for compromises? On this position, the Afghan Government's standpoint is now extremely clear. Kabul supports the idea of sitting down at the negotiation table with any representatives of the opposition; in other words, it supports reconciliation, reconciliation within the entire country. The steadfastness of this course was once again proved by the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the National Democratic Party of Afghanistan, where attention was principally focused on the search for effective paths to nationwide dialogue, which would, in turn, open the way at last to the long-awaited peace.

But what about the remaining participants in the conflict? On the whole, everything is also clear when it comes to the "irreconcilables." The transfer of arms supplies from Pakistan, which has been proceeding regularly in violation of the Geneva agreements, and the sense of support from Washington and Islamabad through their financial assistance, as before, make the "irreconcilables" intractable. It is as if they continue to be held captive by the mirage of an alluring, disappearing and, in actual fact, unattainable victory. This is where their political blindness reveals itself, enhanced what is more by fundamentalist fanaticism. But the wall of irreconcilability does, all the same, have its cracks.

After all, the Peshawar Seven do not all persist in putting forward forms of nationwide dialogue. Moderate groups, chiefly representing the interests of the tribal aristocracy, the semifeudal strata, and the theological elite are not, on the whole, wed to the idea of the essential capitulation of Kabul. They do not rule out a political, compromise solution, seeing in it a place for King Zaher Shah also. Moreover, as Afghan Prime Minister Sharq recently said, he could perfectly well have a useful role in the nationwide dialogue. Incidentally, a public opinion poll has shown that support for the return home of the monarch is sufficiently strong in Afghanistan. But what does he think about this matter himself? If one judges from reports by the foreign press, the king is so far in no hurry to return home from Italy, preferring to play a waiting game. Let me add that the moderates and the government have common ground for seeking compromises. Neither has finally closed the door on the idea of calling a loya jirga, a meeting of representatives of an influential strata of Afghan society. This opens up the possibility of diplomatic maneuvers aimed at convoking a kind of asseembly of national reconciliation.

Here is one other important point: Recently there have been signs that even Pakistan, which previously rejected outright the very idea of such a formula for nationwide dialogue, may now support it.

According to reports by AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE, Islamabad has also removed its categorical objections to the participation of King Zaher Shah in such a multilateral dialogue. If this is indeed so, then perhaps for the first time we are witnessing noticeable divergences in the positions of official Islamabad on the one hand, and the fundamentalists led by Hekmatyar, which it ardently supports, on the other. However, this is, of course, still no reason to make broad generalizations. The fact remains a fact. Certain advances on the diplomatic front have so far been in no way reflected on the civil war front in Afghanistan.

There is a well known saying: It takes two to tango. To put it another way, the active stance of Kabul should receive a response, a movement from the other side. Otherwise there will be no peace; there will be more victims, more pointless bloodshed, and more suffering for the Afghan people.

Soviet Religious Leader on Kabul Islamic Meeting

LD2310173488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul, 23 Oct (TASS)—TASS correspondent Igor Shishkov reports: The international Islamic meeting currently underway in the Afghan capital is of great

significance for establishing peace in Afghanistan. Appeals for the equality of all people independent of their racial background have resounded from the rostrum of this representative forum, said Mufti Tadzhuddin, chairman of the spiritual board of the European part of the USSR and Siberia, in a conversation with a TASS correspondent.

A solution to the Afghan problem will be the boost that facilitates eliminating many regional conflicts. At present, he noted, Afghanistan is exhausted by a futile war and the people are weary of bloodshed. However, extremist circles, hiding behind Islamic slogans, continue to create lawlessness and commit terrorist acts against the civilian population, as a result of which children, women, and old people are perishing. Such actions by the armed opposition are in conflict with Islamic tenets. When meeting many people and visiting mosques we have seen in their eyes need for a speedy end to the fratricide. We very much hope that the Kabul meeting will make a substantial contribution to achieving peace in the land of ancient Afghanistan, Tadzhuddin concluded.

YAR President Meets Lushev on Military Ties

LD2010210988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Sanaa, 20 Oct (TASS)—A.A. Salih, president of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR], today received Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy minister of defense, who is here on an official visit. The further development of Soviet-North Yemeni relations was noted with satisfaction and the mutual desire to expand them further in various spheres, including the military sector, was expressed in the conversation, with proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

A.A. 'Abd al-Ghani, prime minister of the YAR, and A.H. Al-Bashiri, chief of staff of the YAR Armed Forces, took part in the conversation.

V.V. Popov, USSR ambassador to the YAR, was present at the meeting.

Evaluation of Bhutto's Election Manifesto

BK1810152388 Moscow in Urdu to Pakistan 1100 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Vladimir Ovisin commentary]

[Text] Pakistan People's Party leader Benazir Bhutto has announced that in the event her party comes to power, it will end the policy of animosity and hatred. Releasing her party program, Benazir Bhutto paid tribute to the memory of the victims of tyranny during 11 years of Ziaul Haq's regime. Benazir Bhutto said that in spite of the fact that her father was a victim of the military regime, her party will not seek vengeance if it wins [the 16 November elections]. She announced that her party has other lofty objectives. The program envisaged in the Pakistan People's Party election manifesto includes wide-ranging changes in the political and social fields. The party has pledged to restore the 1973 constitution and release all political prisoners. A great deal of attention has been paid to proposals on overcoming the socio-economic crisis. The proposals are based on improving the lot of the middle class for Pakistan's economic development and granting more powers to the provinces. Benazir Bhutto's party intends to eradicate illiteracy by increasing the current literacy rate of 25 percent to 90 percent within 5 years.

Benazir Bhutto also announced that if the Pakistan People's Party wins the elections, its government will continue to pay a great deal of attention to further increasing the country's defense capabilities, above all the development of the defense industry, which is presently in an elementary stage. Benazir Bhutto thinks this will reduce Pakistan's dependence on foreign military assistance.

According to observers, implementation of the Pakistan People's Party program will no doubt bring about an improvement in various parts of Pakistani society. The party's intention to reduce dependence on foreign military assistance is especially worth mentioning. By becoming self-sufficient in this sector, Pakistan would be able to get rid of U.S. political, economic, and military diktats. This will also bring great economic benefits because there is no comparison between resources spent in a defense industry set up to meet national defense requirements and resources spent in purchasing foreign arms and repaying military debts. Enormous resources could be saved for the country's socio-economic development through steps taken to meet justifiable defense requirements vis-a-vis indiscriminate militarization of the country.

Pakistan's democratic opposition is expressing the view that further consolidation of Pakistan's independence and sovereignty will inevitably lead to a more cordial situation throughout the region. It is now clear that as a frontline state, it is not possible for Pakistan to solve its problems. Successful settlement of Pakistan's internal problems depends on the establishment of peace on its frontiers.

East Europe

Further on Visit by Polish Premier Rakowski

Moscow Pre-Visit Commentary

LD2110100788 Moscow International Service in Polish 1500 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Commentary written by station commentator Szymon Afonin; read by announcer]

[Text] The Soviet press has published a communique on the working friendship visit commencing in the Soviet Union by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, a member of the PZPR

Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. The press has also published his portrait and biography. In connection with this Szymon Afonin, a Radio Moscow commentator, writes:

I think that anyone who knows something about the development of Polish-Soviet relations has received the news with satisfaction. In recent years the dialogue between the leaders of our states has not only grown more lively but also its quality has changed; there is less window-dressing, and the substance of our contacts is richer. It is also important that we have learned to mutually tell each other the truth and not just pay compliments. Changes in the essence of our mutual relations have been made and continue to be effected, naturally not in a vacuum. The basis of these transformations is formed by the Soviet restructuring and the Polish renewal.

Those processes, characterized by their national specific character, also have much in common. In July this year Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking in the Polish Sejm, said on this matter: Each party independently looks for the paths to move on to a new qualitative socialism. There cannot be any general recipe of mechanical imitation in this question. The convergence on the most important, in its entire sense, need for a socialist renewal of the socialist community is, however, visible.

The renewal is continuing. In the Soviet Union, the developments of events in Poland is followed with great interest. The experience of friends, both positive and negative, is helpful in solving one's own problems. I know, the commentator writes, that the experience gained during the Soviet restructuring also meets with the real interest of Poles.

One more important aspect of our relations—the economic one—is worthy of attention. Socialist renewal has opened prospects for developing authentic economic integration and intensifying the international division of work, which is very important. In this context I cite one more excerpt from Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in the Sejm: The fortunes of socialism have never been in such a ruthless manner dependent on the ability of our states to make the technological jump, to enter a new qualitative level of scientific and technological progress, and on a new degree of integration.

That is a political description of the way things are today. But how does the situation look in the economy. Radical transformations taking place in this sphere in our countries form the bases of fundamentally new conditions for economic cooperation. The first effects of this are being noted, for example the joint company, Pollena - (Miraculum); mutually advantageous cooperative relations of the amalgamation, Burmar - Labedy and the January Uprising Works. The cranes produced by them are in demand both in Poland and the Soviet Union, as well as on the international market. However, such a successful development of contacts, to be candid, is not yet the rule. During the development of progressive forms of economic cooperation, many difficulties have been brought to light, many of them of an exclusively bureaucratic character. There are among them difficulties which need to be resolved at the level of the leaders of our states.

There is every reason to anticipate that the Polish premier's visit to the Soviet Union will create a possibility to solve many of these problems and will give a new incentive to the development of Soviet-Polish cooperation.

Rakowski Luncheon Speech

PM2410133188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on speech given by M. Rakowski member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, at a Kremlin luncheon 21 October given in his honor under the general heading: "In the Interests of Strengthening Socialism"]

[Excerpts] A luncheon was given 21 October by the Soviet Government in the Kremlin in honor of M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

The guest was accompanied by officials escorting him on the trip.

Comrades N.I. Ryzhkov, A.N. Yakovlev, Yu.D. Maslyukov, N.V. Talyzin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials were present on the Soviet side.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delivered a speech at the luncheon. [passage omitted]

A speech was then delivered by M. Rakowski.

Comrade M. Rakowski's Speech [subhead]

This is my first visit abroad since being appointed chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

It is quite understandable that I have decided to pay my first visit as head of the Polish Government to the Land of the Soviets. The dynamism in the development of Polish-Soviet relations is evident; they are constantly becoming qualitatively enriched with new substance. This was vividly shown by M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Poland in July. It is through reliance on its relations with the Soviet Union that our country has been building and multiplying its national potential for more than 40 years and living with a sense of complete security.

This is our real great and historic gain and we must take great care of it. It is important to do our utmost to develop our gain and show concern for its present and future both in the short term and in the long term.

We have carried out a necessary and useful exchange of opinions on our common problems and difficult and complex questions. They crop up in the course of the objectively natural and historically conditioned processes of socialist renewal in Poland and restructuring in the political and economic spheres in the Soviet Union.

I have profound confidence in our people. I am convinced that society will proceed with us to attain the goals mapped out by the PZPR.

The alliance of forces advocating reform and interested in renewing socialism and modernizing its economic and social structures is no feat of imagination on our part. It is becoming a reality and is like an alliance of brave, bold people who are ready to overcome the difficulties and remove any obstacles retarding progress.

Nothing is more urgent for Poland today than the rapid implementation of the socioeconomic reforms whose main aim is concern for man and the implementation of his hopes and expectations both in the material and also in the spiritual spheres.

Strengthening the sense of joint responsibility among all patriotic forces for the fate of the country reliably guarantees the attainment of these goals. We want this feeling to be manifested in the broadening and consolidation of national concord.

Owing to the major socioeconomic changes on which our parties—the CPSU and the PZPR—have boldly embarked, comprehensive Polish-Soviet cooperation is developing on the principles of equality and partnership in an atmosphere of sincerity and openness and on the basis of complete mutual understanding and respect.

In the last few months we have done a great deal to broaden and enrich this cooperation, but what we have achieved cannot completely satisfy us since the facts indicate that there are still great untapped reserves in daily contacts between the Poles and the peoples of the Soviet Union in the sphere of economic, cultural, and scientific cooperation.

I declare the Polish Government's resolute intention to make active use of all these reserves.

Allow me, dear friends, to make a small historical digression. While talking about the need to constantly enrich our relations and well aware of the need to further broaden and deepen them, I would like to recall that the very fact of the existence of people's Poland and also the achievements of Soviet workers, peasants, and intelligentsia have no historical parallels.

This is the great and truly historic gain of the Poles and also the Russians, the Ukrainians, and the other peoples united in the fellowship of the Soviet Union.

No one and nothing could erase from the national memory of the Poles and the peoples of the Soviet Union the crimes of German fascism perpetrated against our peoples. This memory along with the clear realization of how a nuclear war could end prompt the Soviet Union and people's Poland to shape the kind of East-West relations in which suspicion gives way to mutual trust. We fully support the idea of a common European home put forward by M.S. Gorbachev and we see in it a great future for Europe and the world.

Allow me, dear comrades, to give you sincere and cordial wishes for success in implementing the bold revolutionary program of restructuring, which has a beneficial effect on processes under way in our countries and also in Europe and the world.

I would like to assure you as I have already done from the rostrum of our parliament that we will do everything possible to strengthen the ties of alliance policy and the close collaboration and cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union and between our peoples.

I wish you, esteemed Comrade Ryzhkov and all the members of the Soviet Government, the good health and great strength of mind that are so necessary for overcoming the conservative accretions and also the inclinations and habits characteristic of the period of stagnation.

The speeches given by Comrades N.I. Ryzhkov and M. Rakowski were greeted with applause.

The luncheon took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

In the evening M. Rakowski left the Soviet Union. He was seen off at the airport by N.I. Ryzhkov and other officials.

The Polish and Soviet state flags were hoisted at the airport.

Visit Outlined

LD2110223388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1936 GMT 21 Oct 88

["Joint Report on Soviet-Polish talks"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Oct (TASS)—M. Rakowski, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, was in the Soviet Union on 21 October on a short working visit in accordance with a mutual accord.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received M. Rakowski and had a conversation with him.

Talks were held between N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and M. Rakowski.

A meeting also took place between A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and M. Rakowski. Questions concerning further cooperation between the CPSU and the PZPR, the development of Soviet-Polish relations, and several problems concerning the international situation and the strengthening of security on the continent of Europe were discussed in a friendly and cordial conversation.

During the talks the heads of governments devoted central attention to an examination of topical issues in Soviet- Polish cooperation and prospects for its development.

N.I. Ryzhkov informed M. Rakowski about practical steps in implementing restructuring in the Soviet Union and implementing the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The measures being undertaken by the Soviet leadership for the further implementation of the political reform, for the further improvement of the structure of the party apparatus, and for the development of Leninist principles of people's power were set out in detail. It was stressed that the resolute rejection of methods of governing society by administrative injunction, the restoration of genuine sovereignty for the soviets of people's deputies at all levels, raising the political activeness of the masses, improving the working and living conditions of people as quickly as possible, and implementing the social reorientation of economic policy are the most important tasks in the process of the country's revolutionary renewal.

M. Rakowski described in detail the complicated course of the process of socialist renewal and democratization of Polish society and the efforts to set up a nationwide patriotic coalition supporting reforms in the economy and the political system. The Polish leadership devotes foremost attention to the questions of making the economy healthy as quickly as possible, of raising the population's standard of living, and of accelerating the scientific and technical progress within the framework of the draft program of national economic development for the years 1989-1990, currently being elaborated.

The sides stated with satisfaction that M.S. Gorbachev's official visit of friendship to PPR in July 1988 had become a landmark in Soviet-Polish relations. The joint Soviet-Polish statement signed during the course of the visit, the accords reached at the summit level, and the strengthened climate of trust between the peoples of our countries open up extensive opportunities for raising the whole complex of bilateral cooperation onto a qualitatively new level. Purposeful work is currently in hand to implement the decisions adopted by both sides concerning the results of the visit.

The current state and prospects of the economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the PPR were thoroughly examined during the course of the talks. It was noted that Soviet-Polish ties were attaining a higher level and were being enriched by new content.

A search was on for optimal solutions to improve further the mechamism of economic interaction and to create favorable conditions for the development of progressive forms of ties.

The objective foundation of the development of cooperation on a qualitatively new level is the fact that the fundamental aims and tendencies of restructuring in the USSR and socialist renewal in Poland coincide. This opens possibilities for supplementing traditional goods exchange with progressive forms of mutual relations in the sphere of production, science, and technology. At the same time it is recognized that the great productive and scientific- technical potential possessed by our countries is being under-used. Questions of the deepening of specialization and coproduction and the mastering of promising new types of products demand constant attention and practical decisions. The sides agreed to complete in the shortest possible time the adjustment of the machinery of cooperation in the framework of direct contacts, joint enterprises, and other forms of interaction.

Much attention was devoted to the prospects of Soviet-Polish cooperation, the main milestones of which must be defined in the concept of economic and scientific-technical cooperation betweeen the USSR and PPR in the next 15 to 20 years. Specific problems which will be tackled by joint efforts in the coming 5-year period were examined, and agreement reached on intensifying contacts in this field.

Emphasis was placed on the great importance of the further consistent realization of the declaration on Soviet- Polish cooperation in ideology, science, and culture, which will help to bring our peoples still closer together and promote their mutual intellectual enrichment. An important task is to expand tourism and personal contacts between People. The Polish side expressed satisfaction that conditions are being created in the USSR for the activities of cultural and educational societies for Soviet citizens of Polish origin.

The heads of government exchanged views on topical questions of the refinement of multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration in the framework of the CEMA. The fundamental significance was stressed of the decisions of the 44th sitting of the CEMA session concerning the restructuring of the mechanism of socialist economic integration and the formation of a unified market of CEMA member-countries.

In a discussion of international problems, a complete unity of views was expressed on the key questions of world politics, as well as a willingness to closely coordinate foreign policy efforts geared to the creation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security. The sides were united in the views that despite the complex and contradictory situation that remained in the world, a turn for the better had taken shape of late, a turn toward a diminution of confrontation and a constructive and concentrated East-West dialogue. The coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the start of its practical implementation was a major breakthrough toward real nuclear disarmament.

The Soviet Union and Poland are resolute supporters of a substantial reduction in the level of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. They attach great importance to the implementation of the package of proposals put forward by the allied states at the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and to seeing headway being made by the initiatives advanced by individual socialist countries. The Soviet side will continue actively to promote the implementation of the program of reducing armaments and increasing trust in central Europe known as the "Jaruzelski Plan."

The Soviet Union and Poland display profound interest in the further development of all-European process in all directions and confirm their desire to promote in every way possible the adoption of a substantive and balanced final document at the Vienna meeting in the very near future. During the talks it was stressed that the inviolable nature of the the territorial and political realities in Europe, which came about as a result of the Second World War and postwar development, is an indispensable condition for preserving firm peace and security in the continent.

Both sides expressed a readiness to deepen and expand cooperation in the international arena in the interests of preserving and consolidating peace throughout the world.

M. Rakowski invited N.I.Ryzhkov to pay an official, friendly visit to the Polish People's Republic. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The talks passed off in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

Those that took part in them were, on the Soviet side: Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; N.V.Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.I.Gostev, USSR minister of finance; A.I.Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations; I.P.Aboimov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; V.I.Brovikov, USSR ambassador to the PPR; and on the Polish side: I.Sekula, deputy chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers and minister of labor and social policy; B.Kulski, PPR deputy minister of foreign affairs; Z.Kurowski, PPR minister of foreign economic cooperation; S.Wylupek, PPR deputy permanent representative at CEMA; and W.Natorf, the PPR ambassador to the USSR.

In the evening M. Rakowski left the Soviet Union. At the airport he was seen off by N.I. Ryzhkov and other officials.

The state flags of Poland and the Soviet Union were raised at the airport.

More on Ryzhkov Talks

LD2210034688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Talks were held today between Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Mieczyslaw Rakowski. During the talks, the heads of governments focused their attention on the current issues in Soviet-Polish cooperation and prospects for its development. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov briefed Mieczyslaw Rakowski on practical steps to carry out restructuring in the Soviet Union and to implement the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. Measures being undertaken by the Soviet leadership to further implement political reform, to improve the structure of the party apparatus, and to develop Leninist principles of people's power were set out in detail.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski talked in detail about the complex course of the process of socialist renewal and democratization of Polish society and efforts to establish a patriotic coalition of the whole nation in support of reforms in the economy and the political system. The Polish leadership is paying paramount attention to the quickest possible recovery of the economy, a growth in the population's standard of living, and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress under the draft programs for the development of the national economy for 1989-1990, which are currently being elaborated.

Both sides ascertained with satisfaction that the official friendly visit to Polish People's Republic by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in July 1988 was a landmark in Soviet-Polish relations. At present, purposeful work is being carried out on implementing the decisions adopted by the two sides as a result of the visit.

The present state and prospects of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and Poland were examined thoroughly during the talks. It was noted that Soviet-Polish ties are rising to a higher level and are being enriched with new content. The fact that the fundamental aims and directions of restructuring in the USSR and of socialist renewal in Poland

coincide is an objective basis for the development of cooperation at a qualitatively new level. The sides agreed to complete, in the shortest possible period, final plans for a machanism for cooperation within the framework of direct ties, joint enterprises, and other forms of interaction. Great attention was devoted to the prospects for Soviet-Polish cooperation, the outlines of which will be defined in a concept for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and Poland for 15 to 20 years.

The great importance of further, consistent implementation of the declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the spheres of ideology, science, and culture, which will promote the further uniting of our people and their mutual spiritual enrichment, was stressed.

The heads of governments exchanged views on current issues in further improving multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration within the CEMA framework.

During a discussion on international problems, a total unity of views on the key issues of world politics and a readiness to closely coordinate foreign policy efforts aimed at establishing an all-embracing system of international peace and security were expressed. Both sides expressed readiness to deepen and to expand their interaction in the international arena in the interest of maintaining and consolidating peace throughout the world.

Mievzyslaw Rakowski invited Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov to pay an official friendly visit to the Polish Peoples Republic. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The talks proceeded in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

Taking part in the talks were, on the Soviet side: Comrades Maslyukov, Talyzin, and other officials; and on the Polish side, persons accompanying Comrade Rakowski on his trip. [video shows Rakowski and Ryzhkov with delegations in talks; Maslyukov is seated immediately to the left of Ryzhkov on the Soviet side, seen both with and without spectacles, while Talyzin is one person to the right of Ryzhkov.]

Poland's Urban on Pre-roundtable Situation

PM2410112988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Preparations for Roundtable"]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Oct—Polish Government press Spokesman J. Urban issued a statement at a Warsaw press conference concerning the progress of preparations for the roundtable meeting with the participation of representatives of broad public circles holding different views. Some of the Western press, he pointed out, has been trying to give the impression that the Polish authorities are trying to delay the start of the roundtable meeting or to wreck it altogether. The roundtable is nobody's initiative but ours, put forward by Army General Cz. Kiszczak, Polish minister of internal affairs.

Before the roundtable meeting it is necessary to coordinate various issues linked with its holding. A few days ago, J. Urban reported, we took the initiative of arranging a routine working meeting between Cz. Kiszczak, L. Walesa, and a narrow circle of officials in order to coordinate essential problems. L. Walesa refused to attend. Thus, it was not our fault that agreement was not reached.

J. Urban stressed that incidents exacerbating the situation prior to the roundtable meeting and complicating the possibility of reaching agreement on its progress are becoming increasingly frequent in the country. The riots in Gdansk have already been reported. There was also an attempt to hold a street procession in Warsaw's Zoliborz district. Certain Krakow higher educational establishments have become the venue for scandalous demonstrations by groups of students opposing military training in higher educational establishments.

The overwhelming majority of Polish people do not support political adventurism and want talks and agreement; they are concerned at the growing attempts to disturb the peace in the country.

Joint USSR-GDR Military Exercise Ends

LD2310203988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1735 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 23 Oct (TASS)—The joint military exercise of the group of Soviet forces in Germany and the GDR National People's Army ended today. In the course of exercise issues of control and interaction between various kinds of troops were worked out.

In the view of the leadership of the exercise, it was instructive and showed a higher standard of the troops' field training.

The goals of the exercise were attained. The troops that took part in it are returning to the sites of their permanent garrisoning.

Observers from a number of states—members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—attended the exercise in accordance with the document of the Stockholm conference.

Further Reportage on Situation in SFRY

Slovenia's Kucan Cited

PM2410160388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[V. Terekhov reportage: "In the Course of Profound Reforms. Yugoslav Communists Making Important Decisions"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade-Moscow—It is hot in Yugoslavia this fall. During my tour of the country I came to hear this remark quite often. People were referring not only to the weather but also to the political climate.

My tour of the country coincided with a sort of political experiment in Slovenia—elections of the president of the republic presidency. They took place according to a new structure. At the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia, which comprises the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations, eight candidates for this post were registered. They included a former Slovenian party organization leader, a university rector, the republic's internal affairs secretary, a writer, an economist with many years of work experience in international organizations, and a journalist and writer on international affairs. [passage omitted]

The election campaign caused a steep rise in the activity of the press and the republic population. Articles were printed whose authors were sharply critical of the policies of certain figures at republic and also federal level. Some of these articles became the subject of discussion by the highest federal authorities.

Milan Kucan, president of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee, told me:

If we want to develop democracy, and this is precisely what we want, we must above all not succumb to one very dangerous illusion: Democracy cannot be developed "from here to there." It is not criticism which is causing problems in our life, rather the reverse. As regards the various alternative movements which exist in Slovenia and which are sometimes causing concern to the country's population, Milan Kucan believes that it is the League of Communists' main task to explain the reasons for their emergence. We can confidently say that critical movements and actions are not the result of opennness in our society and even less so an effort to imitate other countries. They have been brought about by insufficient attention to society's domestic problems.

Furthermore, it is impossible to seek to develop the economy without developing democratic relations in all spheres of life. The economic and political crisis in our country has affected people, their consciousness, and their convictions. Our main task is to awaken society's creative forces. It is here that Communists must prove through the strength of their convictions that they are capable of continuing and developing the ideas of the revolution. Of late, we have been afflicted by spiritual indolence, if I may put it this way; many people have used the constant flood of decrees, resolutions, and decisions as a screen with which they covered up their own idleness, their unwillingness to work among the masses. Hence the lack of confidence in official institutions which is exacerbating the situation in the country even further.

The deterioration of the economic and political situation is felt especially acutely in economically poorly developed areas of Yugoslavia and primarily in Kosovo.

A week ago SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reported on the situation in Kosovo. The situation remains tense. We must admit, Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said recently, that the rallies in Kosovo spring from a lack of confidence in the efficacy of the official organs. The rallies are dominated by demands for more effective work on the part of administrative organs from district to federal level.

The attitude toward these rallies in other republics and the leadership of the country itself is not clear cut. Many people are warning that the rallies represent a threat to public law and order. A real risk of all kind of excesses is mounting. At the same time it is being noted, even at the LCY Central Committee Presidium, that the main demands of the rally participants are "justified and basically constructive. They are part of the struggle for the strengthening of the fraternity and unity of all the country's peoples and ethnic groups and for the implementation of profound social reforms."

It must be stated that the LCY is not trying to sidestep its responsibility; it fully understands the gravity and urgency of the present situation and is trying to assess its work self-critically. In the last few days there has been a whole series of resignations among key party figures and there have even been collective resignations. For instance, the party leadership of the Vojvodina Autonomous Province, which is part of Serbia, has resigned. A critical and frank discussion of all these problems took place at the 17th Plenum of the LCY Central Committee.

During the 3 days of the plenum's proceedings 90 people took the floor. A resolution on the tasks of overcoming the unfavorable economic, political, and social situation in the country was adopted. The plenum participants also discussed the question of the renewal of cadres at the LCY Central Committee and its presidium and commissions. Giving the reasons for the proposals on this account, Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, noted that "it is not a question of a purge" but of the replacement of a number of members of the current Central Committee between congresses.

A secret ballot on the question of confidence in the LCY Central Committee Presidium as a whole and each of its individual members was carried out. One member of the Presidium failed to obtain a vote of confidence and resigned. Four more had resigned on the eve of the plenum.

The importance of this plenum, Slobodan Milosevic, leader of the League of Communists of Serbia, said in his speech, is to provide an answer to the most basic question which has confronted the whole country in recent years: Are we able to carry out changes or are we not. This does not merely apply to the situation in Kosovo but to the economic and political reform as a whole.

Montenegro Emergency Steps Lifted

PM2410133588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Emergency Measures Lifted"]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct—TANJUG reported today that the Montenegro Presidency had adopted a decision under which the "measures brought into force 8 October to prevent the emergence of emergency circumstances in Titograd and its suburbs owing to the violation of constitutional order and breaches of the peace during the protest meeting in the Montenegrin capital are to end."

The emergency measures have been lifted since, as was noted at the joint session of the Montenegro Presidency and the League of Communists of Montenegro Central Committee Presidium, the activity carried out in the area above all to eradicate the reasons for working people's discontent has promoted a definite stabilization of the political situation in Montenegro and its capital. The Montenegro Presidency points to the need to step up the activity of all the system's institutions in order to resolve as effectively as possible the accumulated economic, social, and political problems in society.

'Confidence' in LCY Leaders

PM2110132188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Oct 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Two LCY Central Committee Plenums"]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Oct—The 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum held here adopted a resolution on the tasks involved in overcoming the adverse economic, political, and social situation in the country.

The document, which will become the basis of the LCY's future work, emphasizes the need to enhance the responsibility of the LCY and of each and every Communist for the solution of tasks which are vitally important for society and the party.

It was decided to set up a working group which, following a proposal by the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee, will study the question of the responsibility attaching to Kosovo Autonomous Province leaders A. Vlasi, K. Siroka, and S. Dolasevic and of their expulsion from the LCY Central Committee.

In a secret ballot held at the initiative of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Central Committee expressed its confidence in the LCY Central Committee Presidium as a whole and in each member individually, including the president and secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. According to the results of the ballot, all members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium won the vote of confidence except D. Ckrebic. Ckrebic requested the plenum to relieve him of his duties as member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Following the conclusion of the 17th plenum, the LCY Central Committee held its 18th plenum. It discussed amendments to the SFRY Constitution and the ensuing tasks of the LCY.

Solovyev Visits Bulgarian Plants

LD2210151688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A Leningrad obkom delegation, led by Comrade Solovyev, is in Plovdiv on a friendship vist. Our correspondent in Bulgaria, V. Samarin, reports:

Today, the guests visited a hardware association producing equipment and devices without which the scientific organization of work is impossible. Here too, as during visits to other enterprises and scientific centres in Plovdiv—the combine for the automation of assembly work, the optical equipment association, and the local institute of applied physics—the central topic of the conversations with workers, specialists, and research staff was the question of how to deepen scientific-technical and economic cooperation between Leningrad and Plovdiv, and how to secure greater economic effectiveness in the traditional cooperation between the twinned towns. It is expected that in a new agreement between them, the main emphasis will be placed on the organization of direct production and scientific ties, and on the creation of joint enterprises. [video shows Solovyev touring a factory; display of typewriters; a computer; women assembling equipment; line of computers; other assembly workers and factory scenes]

West Europe

Gorbachev Interview With DER SPIEGEL

PM2310185988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 88 First Edition pp 1-2

["Interview with M.S. Gorbachev by DER SPIEGEL Magazine (FRG)"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev met with representatives of DER SPIEGEL headed by its publisher [Izdatel], Rudolf Augstein, at the CPSU Central Committee on 19 October. On 24 October the magazine is going to publish the conversation and M.S. Gorbachev's answers to the questions sent by the magazine's editorial board earlier.

M.S. Gorbachev: As a host I would like first to welcome you, the representatives of a well-known magazine which is viewed in the FRG and throughout the world as a serious publication. This does not mean that I agree with everything you write. I do not know whether you agree with everything that gets written here. That is another matter.... (animation)

R. Augstein: My colleagues do not always agree with my view.

M.S. Gorbachev: But in your country this is considered normal. But when there is a discussion here the West presents this as a political fight, a split in the Soviet leadership. The criteria in operation are different: In your country it is a struggle of opinions, but here....

R. Augstein: That isn't exactly right. Much has changed. If you read each day what the FRG press writes about the Soviet Union you may notice the great changes which have happened. They exist, and everyone recognizes them.

M.S. Gorbachev: What is the reason for that? Let us start our interview. I would like our conversation to begin.

R. Augstein: I believe that one of the reasons is that you can see so many movies now and read so many books which formerly you couldn't. We are witnessing public discussions and clashes of opinions particularly during your television broadcasts. This is a situation that did not exist before. I would say, therefore, that as far as the superstructure goes, the transformations and changes have reached a point from which there can be no deviation or turning back. There isn't a single Soviet citizen now who is afraid to express on television, for instance, an opinion different from yours. Your country is projecting a new image to us—one that 5 years ago we would have thought impossible.

M.S. Gorbachev: That is an interesting observation.

R. Augstein: This process began at the top and, I think, it will go deep, to the lower levels. This will make the present process more complex.

M.S. Gorbachev: In my written answers to your questions I tried to give our views of our own policy, the policy of restructuring. It is always difficult to talk about oneself. Nevertheless it is necessary. We set in motion the mechanism of glasnost and democracy to facilitate the discussion of questions of policy and the activity of the party and the government. The things which we ourselves, the leadership, sometimes find hard to do, our very well educated people succeed in doing.

Of course the country is changing. Since that affects all the most important spheres of our society—the economic sphere (property relations), the political sphere (political reform), and the entire spiritual sphere and culture—that is a very profound process.

We are surely at the beginning of our path if you judge by the strictest criteria and measure against those goals which we have set ourselves. And we ourselves can see that we are still a long way from our final goals, the realization of profound changes, and that there are intermediate tasks. The Western press highlights many things relating to restructuring and expresses its opinions. There are also those publications which have already decided that restructuring is doomed and that the present leadership is also doomed when it has to overcome the serious difficulties en route to its set goals. All that is so. But we want ourselves and our policy to be correctly understood not only within the country but also abroad, not only by our friends but also, I would say, by our partners. And if you say that in the FRG the image of the Soviet Union is changing and our restructuring is being given a definite projection in your society that is not without interest. And, I would also say, it is important.

R. Augstein: We can confirm this because restructuring affects not only domestic policy but also extends to foreign policy. Every day we can feel and see the changes in foreign policy, especially in relations with the FRG. And if that rapprochement which is taking place in may spheres continues as it is now we can come very close to each other. This is demonstrated by the fact that Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher are visiting Moscow next week. I think that you, Mr Gorbachev, once said that the FRG is the crucial country in relations between the Soviet Union and the countries and peoples of central and Western Europe.

M.S. Gorbachev: I welcome the fact that a top-level visit is taking place soon. Our path to it has been long and difficult. We shall look at the real picture. We must. But the fact that this visit is going to take place, that both sides are showing tremendous interest in it, that there is massive preparation underway, and that the important questions to be discussed and covered by the framework of the visit are being studied also indicates that the visit may be a milestone in our relations. That is the first point.

The traditions, the lessons of history, the lessons of the past, and present-day realities lead us—and, I think, Bonn understands this, too—to view our relations as the kind on which much in Europe and—I am not going to belittle this—the world as a whole depends. Others view them that way too.

R. Augstein: If you view practical policy with regard to Germany in the future, for example what will happen in the next 5-10 years, do you think that the anti-fascist defensive rampart which runs through Germany will still be necessary then? Or will detente create in central Europe the conditions in which that defensive rampart will become redundant, one fine day?

M.S. Gorbachev: Let the process of normalization and the improvement of relations move forward. And in particular let us set about building the "European home," let us live in that home, and see what happens. I would have paid more attention to that now had I not thought that it was still too early.

But I am an optimist. By virtue of its political experience and intellectual and economic potential Europe can play a considerable role at the present crucial stage of the development of human history. I think that no one can play that role better than Europe now. It seems to me

that the Europeans have realized that they are firmly interlinked and that they have to think about how to live on this continent in the future, about how to cooperate while respecting one another, respecting each people's choice and the values on which one people or another build their society and their present and future plans. It seems to me that all generally augurs well. It is important that no one hinders that process now. It is important that everyone makes what contribution he can. Much also depends on our state and government.

You see, you are trying to pin me down to specifics but I am dealing with the philosophical aspect of the process: I am talking with Germans, after all.... If philosophy is concerned only with itself and does not affect real policy and practical actions that is not enough.

R. Augstein: Hegel described the Germans in these terms: There is a tumult going on inside their heads but it has no means of release. Therefore you should not expect any practical suggestions or conclusions from Germans. True, he said that in 1805.

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, that was indeed a long time ago. I would prefer to quote from the Greeks: Everything is in flux, everything is changing.

R. Augstein: I think that Kant was right in his "Treatise on the Eternal World," which no one understood at that time. I think that he himself did not understand the full significance of his prediction. He wrote that there will come a time when everyone comes to the self-evident conclusion that war in Europe is an inconceivable phenomenon.

M.S. Gorbachev: I do not know these views of Kant's but I believe that he was right. And I can agree with them, espcially in the modern context. We must consider now how to live in the real Europe, the real world. No matter how difficult this is, it is necessary to seek a way to live together. If the situation developed in a different direction it would be disastrous for us all. No one can sit on the fence now.

R. Augstein: I entirely agree with you. And we must work in precisely this direction in order to achieve these common goals. In our country, the FRG, there are people who do not welcome restructuring, they say the Soviet Union will become too strong as a result. But I want to talk about the trust that you, Mr General Secretary, can take to your own credit. We could not wish for anything better now than a strong Soviet Union that, in harmony with its own people....

M.S. Gorbachev: And other peoples.

R. Augstein: ...follows its own path. Of course, we are all dependent on each other.

M.S. Gorbachev: It is hard to imagine anything else. The times when one country or a group of strong and powerful countries imposed their views, their policy on the world, and sometimes did so mercilessly, have gone. That does not take away the question of differences in the policies of states and their different levels of responsibility. I have said this to Mr Reagan too.

R. Augstein: I was talking with Foreign Minister Genscher recently. I think Mr Genscher has the same views on the things you and I are discussing. And I think Chancellor Kohl's ideas are no different from these views. I don't think that every observation made in the past should be thrown into the balance....

M.S. Gorbachev: But politicians should watch their words.

R. Augstein: I entirely agree with you. But I do not think it is quite right to have too long a memory, otherwise....

M.S. Gorbachev: I prefer people with a good memory to those who suffer from forgetfulness. Memory always means history, tradition, it means learning lessons. All this is very important.

R. Augstein: A good memory is good when it preserves things that should be remembered.

M.S. Gorbachev: But it should learn the right lessons from the bad things. Bearing a grudge is another matter, I am against that. A good memory is no problem, I am in favor of it.

R. Augstein: And you are proving just that. Some things happen from stupidity, not because anyone is pursuing evil ends.

M.S. Gorbachev: I am meeting with leaders of a major FRG magazine, and I want to convey to your readers through the magazine that in our country we value highly the interest that the public in the Federal Republic shows in the Soviet Union and in what is happening in our country today. And, most importantly: We see that the masses sincerely want to cooperate, extend our ties, and perhaps even move on toward friendship after that.

We have excellent relations with the GDR. It always gives me enormous pleasure to meet with GDR working people when I am there. And Soviet people pay great interest and attention to what is happening in the mass consciousness in the FRG at present, because something very important is happening.

Our memory takes us back to different times. And therefore what is happening now in our two countries, the fact that positive impulses emanate from one side or the other, impulses filled with the desire, the striving to improve relations and draw closer together—this is very important according to the most important reckoning. This is perhaps not yet fully recognized.

R. Augstein: I would like to address you as general secretary or as Mr President—I don't know which title to choose, which of them is more important.

M.S. Gorbachev: You choose, whichever you find more suitable. That is your problem. (Everyone laughs.)

R. Augstein: All the same, I think they are on the same level. We hope that next spring you will pay a visit to the FRG and will be able to see that confidence in cooperation between peoples and in its value has grown very markedly. We think that this is a major achievement in itself. Mr General Secretary knows our country, not only from official visits. We know that as secretary of Stavropol Kraykom, you walked around in a crowd of federal Germans and they did not recognize you....

M.S. Gorbachev: It was an interesting trip, though not an easy one. Why not? The former ambassador (he turns to V.M. Falin, who is sitting next to him) will remember my arrival on that occasion as head of a delegation. It coincided with the 30th anniversary of the defeat of fascism. I particularly remember a debate that took place by a gasoline pump near Frankfurt-am-Main. While the car was being filled up, we were buying souvenirs. The owner of the gasoline pump heard us talking Russian.

"I can see you are Russians," he said. "Look, the Germans are divided...."

"Why," I said to him, "are you telling me this? First, it happened as a result of certain events that were unleashed by Germans. True, we have never identified fascism with Germans. The fascist troops were near Moscow, and it was then that we heard: 'Hitlers come and go, but the German people, the German state remain.'"

"Stalin said the German state would remain, but it is divided," my interlocutor went on (incidentally, he was born in 1926).

I replied: What plan did the Americans have for what to do about the conquered Germany—and what did we propose? Who proposed dividing the whole of Germany into small parts, so that a German state would never be reborn? Not us. We called for a democratic, anti-fascist Germany.

The discussion continued. He and I went over all the historical facts. Then he said: "Yes, I know all that. But all the same, you see what happened, and yet there were attempts, after the war, to create a united state."

I replied: But then the "Bizone" emerged, and the "Trizone," and so forth. So your complaints, I said to him, are addressed to the wrong people for many reasons.

During that visit, which, of course, provided some food for thought, there were, nonetheless, many very nice meetings with all kinds of people—not only communists, but other democrats, dockers, representatives of culture. We visited Stuttgart University. In Nuremberg we met with citizens in the most unconstrained atmosphere. And I felt that our countries' relations would improve. And that is happening how. You have drawn me into reminiscing....

R. Augstein: Of course, we cannot repeat the whole of history now or discuss all the historical facts. I entirely agree with you about the U.S. and British plans for the division of Germany, which had nothing in common with the USSR's plans. I would like to ask you another question. When you were 10 years old, the Germans invaded your country. You probably have sad memories. Is that so?

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes. A sad legacy was left to all our people, the war affected every family. The lesson from this is: Do everything to prevent a repetition. Moreover, through the "Ostpolitik" on your side and corresponding actions on our side we have reached a new level of relations. And we pay a tribute of gratitude to those who originated the formulation of this policy. I think the task of the present generations of politicians and of our peoples in general is to go further to meet each other, extend cooperation, cultivate respect for one another, carry out exchanges, and eventually move toward friendship between our peoples. This is also the duty of the living to those who died in that war.

R. Augstein: So you are probably paying tribute to me too, that is, to my contribution to the normalization of these relations.

M.S. Gorbachev: All this is very important. And if anyone starts playing some kind of dirty game, trying to outwit other people—this is dangerous and intolerable, it would be the height of irresponsibility. As I understand it, the task of politicians today is to express the feelings of our countries' people and to improve and widen cooperation. There is no contradiction in that.

R. Augstein: Debates about Stalin and Stalinism are now also taking place in our country, in the FRG. They are rather simplistic and vague. For instance, in the FRG I am regarded as practically a Stalinist. Mr Falin knows this. He and I have discussed the matter a great deal. I think that whatever Stalin may have done in domestic policy, in the confrontation with Hitler he was ultimately a major leader.

M.S. Gorbachev: I spoke about this, on the basis of the information that was available to me, in my report on the 70th anniversary of October. As yet I have no more information that would enable me to discuss this subject further. The process of research into all periods of our history is continuing, and all our society's intellectual forces are taking part in it.

We agreed to talk for a few minutes, and look—an hour has gone by, and we could probably go on talking and talking....

(Joking): Let me come to the most responsible part—I hand over the Russian text to you (he signs it).

R. Augstein: Every general secretary has always allowed me to ask a final question.

M.S. Gorbachev: But I am not merely a general secretary, I am also.... (laughter.)

R. Augstein: Two questions, then. (laughter.)

M.S. Gorbachev: Score: One all.

R. Augstein: The question is this: Who is top of the Soviet ice hockey league at the moment?

M.S. Gorbachev: I like hockey mainly for the courage, the spirit.

R. Augstein: Did you play yourself?

M.S. Gorbachev: No. I lived in the south. When ice hockey appeared, I dropped all my other sporting interests. But now I don't know what is happening in hockey.

R. Augstein: Then I would like to make you a present of the second question. Tell us, do you go to the theater?

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, regularly.

R. Augstein: What kind of theater is your favorite?

M.S. Gorbachev: I visit many theaters. I am well acquainted with the achievements of our theater. Our theater is interesting. It is not all on an identical scale, of an identical artistic standard. There are things that are downright weak. But our theater as such is, I think, undergoing restructuring and will have more to say. I think the most interesting theater for us at present—and I say this at my meetings with actors and directors—is restructuring itself. That is the real drama, where there is a clash of characters, a fierce struggle between the obsolete and the new, where consciousness is changing. That is what people should write about. There is nothing more powerful than the drama of life itself.

R. Augstein: I do not think there is any other country in the world where the theater is as lively and influential as in the Soviet Union.

M.S. Gorbachev: Like our cultural front in general. The movement of renewal in this sphere is a great force for restructuring. But all this is complex too. [Gorbachev ends]

The participants in the talk say goodbye. R. Augstein thanks M.S. Gorbachev for the talk.

V.M. Falin, W. Funk, D. Vild, F. Mayyer, and Y. Metke [last three names as transliterated] were present.

The answers given by M.S. Gorbachev in written form to questions sent to him beforehand by the editorial office follow.

Question: How is restructuring going, what has been achieved so far?

Answer: The main achievement is the new spiritual and moral state of society. The people have been awakened, thanks to the fact that we have placed the interests of man at the center of all social life.

How did it begin? We decided to carry out an impartial, critical political and socioeconomic analysis of the society we live in. It led us to the conclusion that we need a profound restructuring of society, in all its spheres.

We saw that although much had been done and achieved, a good deal had been overlooked, and not all the people's expectations had been met.

Blunders, mistakes, and deformations had occurred along our socialist path. To overcome them it is necessary to reach a new level of democratization, openness, and glasnost and to follow this path. Our slogan is more socialism. To fully uncover socialism's potential through democratization, through widening democratization.

We took this principle as our starting point in the economy too, deciding to democratize it by means of a change in economic management methods and a return to the process of production by man the owner. That includes giving the labor collectives the right to elect their own leaders. And, of course, everyone should live as they work, there should be a balance of rights and responsibility.

We also realized that we could not achieve profound changes without restructuring the political process. We began a restructuring of the political system. Its initial task is to overcome the command-and-administer system, which has its roots in the Stalin years and the stagnation period. Many people were cut off from active participation in the political process.

A certain way of life, a certain mentality had taken shape. Since people were not receiving what they should already be receiving today given the normal development of production and society, a second, "black" economy began to flourish. This also led to negative psychological and moral consequences. So another important aspect of restructuring is a moral and ethical normalization.

We have many difficulties, we do not by any means know everything. But we know the most important thing—we have made the right choice. No one can suggest any alternative. The criticism that is heard in the

course of restructuring is aimed at improving it, uncovering its weak points. And that is right and proper. Politics is, of course, a living process. In contact with life, it must adjust and enrich itself. But the main thing is that the people have accepted this policy. Now they are safeguarding it. The democratic process and glasnost have opened up new control mechanisms and are developing guarantees of restructuring.

So restructuring is progressing—in some instances successfully and in others less so, in some places rapidly and in others slowly. But restructuring will progress, it is happening. Although difficult years lie ahead, particularly the next 2, 3, or 4 years. This is a multifaceted and contradictory but deep-going process—not a cosmetic or repainting operation but a fundamental remodeling of the house we live in.

Of course it was not easy to find political solutions equal to the realities. But we did find them, and they met with a positive reaction in broad circles of the public, throughout society. Now this is not only a policy but practice, in which everybody is getting involved. It now affects everyone. And this complicates progress. Because we had become accustomed to certain patterns, and not only in thinking but also, for example, in the field of access to material goods, which did not always match people's services and labor contribution. Restructuring is putting everything in its right place.

There has been a considerable amount of noise, both in our country and particularly abroad, to the effect that restructuring is being held back by the bureaucrats. This is true, but not completely true. The greatest constraint is conservatism, which exists in all strata. Take leasing in agriculture. You would think it amounted to saying: Take the land, show what you can do, after all you've been waiting for this time. Or financial autonomy in enterprises. Many people wanted it. But now, when all the doors to it have been opened, they're in no hurry. Because you also have to assume obligations—and it can't be any other way: Rights always go with responsibility and obligations.

If you consider that restructuring will take some time and the interim objectives of renewal will change shape, as a rule, in the direction of greater scale, we are not going to rush to sum up results. The main thing is gratifying—the fact that everything in the country is in motion and that this motion has a creative objective.

Returning to your question about the objectives that have been achieved, I can say that if you take foreign policy there have been improvements, although the goals are still a long way off.

When, on beginning restructuring, we took an impartial look at the world around us, we saw a strange situation. It had changed, different realities had emerged, but relations between states continued to be built on the same principles as immediately after the war, during the 'cold war' period. The same stereotypes persisted. Thus here too the need for restructuring was visible, although in the context of international relations we use a different concept—the new thinking.

Another thing. We consider that the interpretation of peaceful coexistence must take present-day realities into account, or, to be more precise, be linked to the principle of freedom of choice. We may be different, but we are parts of the same civilization, possibly the only one in the universe. This worldwide organism may be contradictory and complex, but everything in it is linked by the same destiny. Differences are not a reason for military confrontation but a condition and motive for exchange, comparison, and competition.

I am an optimist and hope to welcome the year 2000 in a nuclear-free world or at least a world which has seriously started to deal with nuclear weapons. I believe that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is not doomed to the role of the swallow that does not make a summer. Mankind cannot, must not stop when it is getting close to common sense.

Question: On the road to a socialist rule-of-law state: What significance do legal reforms have for providing long-term guarantees of restructuring?

Answer: Key significance. We are fully determined, with the people's support, to rule out forever the possibility of the usurpation and abuse of power and to reliably guarantee citizens' rights and freedoms enshrined by the constitution. And we are going to supplement and improve the constitution itself.

There are a number of conditions guaranteeing the status of the socialist-rule-of-law state which must be fulfilled without fail. One of them lies in ensuring that power is placed in one set of hands for a restricted time, for a period limited by law—history has taught us more than one lesson on this account. Another condition is to reduce to a minimum, and as far as possible to rule out completely the possibility of power being entrusted to unworthy people. That, of course, is more easily said than done. But it will have to be done, and done without fail, for instance by means of electing the best of several candidates, and through constant accountability to voters maintained between elections. Not to mention ensuring that everyone is equal before the law and that the law is applied equally to all.

Another condition is to prevent the excessive concentration of power in the hands of a narrow circle of people. We have embarked on a strict and consistent division of responsibility between the party and legislative, executive, and judicial authorities. Each of them will undergo internal modifications in order to be able to cope with the new demands of democratization. We refer to this as a reform of the political system, although it could also be described as a legal revolution.

A renewal has begun of the criminal and civil codes and other laws and codes of law whose pivotal consideration is the unconditional right of citizens to the protection and inviolability of their person, dignity, property, and home. Real freedom of conscience is guaranteed.

In short, we proceed from the premise that without legality there can be no people's power. The process which we have begun is complex, difficult, and to some extent painful. Not everything falls into place in a new system straight away. After all, people make laws, people break laws, and sometimes they even reduce themselves to lawlessness.

Question: Are there limits to glasnost?

Answer: Of course there are. These limits are defined by laws and by common sense. There are limits which are prescribed by the rules of morality and, of course, by the interests of the stability of our system and the socialist option. And finally we have certain traditions which are connected both with our distant and our Soviet past, with our national mentality and the Soviet way of thinking, and with Soviet criteria in evaluating good and evil. We regard these criteria as part of universal human concepts, but nuances are inevitable.

We do not see the level of glasnost which we have attained today as the end product or even a midway point. It seems to me that as we go on "learning" democracy and enhancing our political standards, glasnost takes on many new nuances and accents. And this is good.

No matter how abrupt the switch from the former rigidity and monotonousness to the socialist pluralism of views may appear, the party has no intention of retreating. Without glasnost there can be no democratization, without democratization there will be no restructuring—there will be none of the revolutionary renewal of our society and our system which we are seeking.

We have resolutely set a course toward the elimination of zones which are closed to criticism and "oases" where dual morality and lawlessness flourish, a course toward bridging the gulf between words and actions. A press law is in the pipeline, and other statutes will be adopted which will really broaden all Soviet citizens' access to first-hand information. However, we are aware that it is not enough to create fair laws. It is necessary to ensure their observance and in addition to learn to exercise one's rights and combine them with one's obligations.

Question: Is the CPSU seeking to alter its role in the state and society?

Answer: Restructuring is under way also in the CPSU itself, a restructuring of party life. What happened was that the party assumed responsibility for many economic, management, and even administrative questions without being able to cope with all this, while state organs, in turn, forgot how to do their job. The party is already changing both its role and the methods of its work in accordance with the mandate of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference.

We are inaugurating the political reform with qualitative changes in the party itself. It must be renewed, restore the pristine purity of its noble intentions, and demonstrate by its every word and deed its right to be the political leader of society. But, I repeat, let our parliament write the laws and our government exercise executive power, while the courts administer justice.

Not everything will immediately fall into place. In some places the ousting of the old by the new will be accompanied by a gnashing of teeth. In a great cause anything can happen. But no one can halt the river of time. We have dared to venture into its turbulent waters, since we know where the far bank lies. We must reach it without fail.

Question: The urgent supply crisis: a) What are its causes? b) What ways of overcoming it are envisaged? c) What is the West in a position to do? d) Would the USSR turn down a new version of the Marshall Plan?

Answer: Your questions contain a very gloomy assessment of the state of affairs in our country. Yes, we do have quite a few supply problems and we are urgently addressing those questions, but there is no sense of doom here at all. We know how to rectify matters and possess the potential to do this. Karl Marx wrote that a society may perish if it ceases to work.... Thus, the main thing is for us to work well in a new way. But that requires that much be changed. And we have gotten down to it.

We carried out radical social transformations in an atmosphere natural for revolutionary times when disposing of the legacy of the tsarist, landowner-capitalist past and struggling for freedom, equality, and fraternity. In our society people enjoy powerful social safeguards. But that is just one side of the question. The other side is the practice of the command and administrative edict system, and the underestimation of the need for material and moral labor incentives that existed under it, which resulted in negative phenomena—passivity, wage leveling, freeloading, and the mentality of the day-laborer and the timeserver—building up in society over many years. It is now necessary to resolutely overcome all this everywhere. This can be achieved through leasing the means of production and economic accountability. Through the cooperative system. Through integrating personal and societal interests, which are dialectically united. In other words, through broadening our notions of socialist property, its potential and methods of employment. We naturally associate the attainment of new economic heights with the mastery of new techniques. We are dramatically altering our priorities and structural policy.

Absolute priority has been given to the production of food and consumer goods, the social sphere, housing construction above all, and the radical improvement of health care and education.

Let me now deal with relations with the West. This is not the first time that a "Marshall Plan" for the USSR has been invoked. It is, as I understand it, an image rather and, to some extent, a relapse into arrogance: The Soviet economic train allegedly needs the capitalist locomotive to get it moving. To keep this discussion short I will put it this way: We are certain that we will solve our problems by our own means, but while doing so we are ready to make full use of the potential offered us by our external ties. We are not waiting to be "given help." It is a questiion of interests that coincide. We both have an interest in easing the burden of military expenditure. We also both have an interest in developing economic, scientific, and technical ties.

I think the West will gradually realize that, like the arms race, the splitting up of the world economy, of trade, credit relations, and technology on the basis of ideological factors adds to your problems as well as ours. There must be a resolute change of approach; both sides will gain from this. As for the question of what concrete forms our future cooperation will take, that is a secondary matter.

Question: a) Trade between the USSR and the FRG has fallen by half in the last 5 years. How can trade be boosted? What goods does the USSR intend to offer more widely on the world market in future? b) What is hampering the setting up of joint enterprises today? c) How could relations with the EEC develop after 1992?

Answer: It is true that our trade with the majority of countries is not in the best possible state. This is a punishment for our mistakes and blunders, but also for the consumerist attitude of many of our foreign partners, who wanted to have the USSR as a customer to buy their own goods, but only if it used resources earned from the sale of energy and raw material resources.

Both sides have now learned their lesson. Much now depends on how diligent we are as pupils.

The Soviet side has recognized the need to radically modify its foreign economic instruments. Enterprises, institutes, and members of cooperatives now have access to the world market independently. From now on, they will have no one to blame if things go wrong. And you, too, will perhaps on many occasions remember nostalgically some of your counterparts from the former Ministry of Foreign Trade, who assumed an air of importance at the expense of the state, and sometimes concluded not very advantageous or far-sighted deals rather than do their jobs.

We intend in future to upgrade our exports by actively offering high-technology output and know-how. We will still sell raw materials, only not like merchants, in bulk, but selectively. The main thing is that it will not be only raw materials.

However, business is a serious matter and there is always a risk. I will only observe that the bold will not lose out in the end. And that applies particularly to those who do not come to us to skim off the cream, but who look at trade with the USSR seriously, as a long-term, promising matter.

There are many hindrances on the Western side: artificial restrictions on credit and the sale of technology, hypocritically justified in terms of the Soviet "military threat," numerous customs barriers, and protectionism.

You ask about our attitude to the "single market" after 1992. It will be an appropriate response to the EEC attitude to CEMA and to us, the Soviet Union, to the EEC's position on all-European projects, to the community's approach to the normalization of the situation in the world. If you interpret these thoughts of mine as an invitation to dialogue, you will be right.

Question: How do you see the problem of conventional arms reduction in Europe?

Answer: We and our allies long ago put forward proposals that provide for substantial and equal reductions in these arms and ultimately the dismantling of the actual material potential for aggression, and thus the elimination of fear and all kinds of myths about the Soviet military threat. These proposals have been published and handed over officially. They have been clarified, commented on, and, I must stress, added to in many of my speeches and statements. All this is available to everyone.

We have now entered a stage where a joint move toward concrete decisions is needed. And therefore it is natural to turn to the situation at the Vienna meeting. The situation there is as follows.

The 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries are completing the formulation of a mandate for talks on armed forces and conventional arms. The preamble, the objectives of the talks, questions of verification and information, and the composition of the participants have been agreed. Matters are moving toward a consensus on a formula for the subject matter of the talks.

This progress is the result of a businesslike approach on both sides. We have made some concessions, and some concessions have been made to us. On equal terms. And we see this, too, as a sign of the times.

Certain questions have still not been agreed upon. But they are less important than those on which agreement has been reached.

And, as far as I can judge, the majority of the participants hope, with reason, that the talks will begin this year. We are decisively in favor of this.

How do we envisage the talks process?

The following sequence would be logical:

—the inventarization of what each side has;

—the elimination of imbalances;

—the equal reduction of arms and armed forces, down to the lowest levels possible in present circumstances.

That is how it looks in theory.

But we already have much experience of talks. It is no use expecting everything to go smoothly, especially since the problems really are complex, even from the technical viewpoint. Moreover, there are now many partnrs at the talks, not just two. And there is a danger that the pace of the talks will lag behind the dynamics of the time, the available opportunities, and the imperatives dictated by the peoples and by common sense.

We have therefore put forward the idea of a "European Reykjavik," that is, a meeting of the top representatives of states, including, of course, the United States and Canada, to give a powerful political boost to the talks process.

We also advocate the involvement of wide sociopolitical forces in the process of eliminating armed confrontation in Europe. We and a number of politicians in the West and East of Europe have had the idea of holding a "roundtable." The idea is for representatives of political parties of all ideological persuasions to meet in one of the European capitals and, in a free debate, discuss every aspect of European development. Including, of course, the problems of arms reduction and of the demilitarization of the continent in general.

In a word, we greatly favor the idea that, in parallel with nuclear disarmament, towards which the first fundamental step was taken with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, an analogous process should take place in the sphere of conventional arms, first and foremost in Europe. This is dictated by the demographic, industrial, and ecological characteristics of our continent, its political level, its urgent vital needs, its place in the fate of civilization, and its moral responsibility to its peoples and to all mankind. Both West and East need this to an equal extent.

Question: A debate is in progress on the political consequences of the possible withdrawal of all foreign troops in Europe. How do you see this?

Answer: We are in favor of finding a solution to this question, and we have said so officially and publicly.

But unfortunately not even Europe has reached a level of mutual trust between its component states that would make it possible to tackle questions like this outside the context of the general situation, and in particular outside the context of the process of disarmament and, in this case, the talks that were mentioned in the previous answer.

Within this framework we are prepared, on a reciprocal basis, to examine the problem of our troops on our allies' territory, by agreement with them, of course, and taking their view into account.

Question: The German question—is it still open?

Answer: I have already spoken about this both publicly and at meetings with FRG statesmen. And I can only reaffirm yet again what I have said before on this matter.

At the same time I would like to stress quite clearly: There can be no two opinions about the fact that the fate of the Germans is indissolubly bound up with the fate of the whole of Europe and with Europe's progress in conditions of complete security for everyone, that is, with the prospects for building the "European home." Any attempts to erase the borders between the sovereign German states, and especially experimenting with strong-arm methods in this sphere, are unacceptable, and even disastrous. There must be complete clarity on such questions.

Question: Will the "common European home" have a door in Berlin?

Answer: Without such a door its design would look incomplete.

Question: What are the historical prospects for German-Soviet relations?

Answer: You mean our relations with the FRG? I will put it this way: These prospects will depend entirely on what we and you make of them. They will be only what we, together, make them today. They will be what we alone, no one else, make them. And I hope we will do it guided by the responsibility which ensues from the elementary fact that the all-European weather and many other important things depend to a considerable degree on two such important states as the USSR and the FRG.

You can live as you like, and we will live as we like. But let us establish mutually advantageous cooperation where the necessary material and human conditions for this exist. Let us try to look at each other not as two former enemies, or two potential opponents, but as partners and possible friends. To us in Moscow this does not seem to be too much to expect, or a utopia.

Question: If restructuring is successful, the Soviet Union will become a model for many other states. In this case will not reactionary forces in the United States try to thwart such a development?

Answer: The emotions and intentions of the reactionary forces in the United States are a reality which cannot be ignored. However, recent years have shown that these forces are not omnipotent.

This is an important feature of our time. Of course, those whom you described as U.S. reactionary forces (and, incidentally, there are people who share their views in other countries, including the FRG) do not want any change. However, the strategic, political, and economic realities of our time demand changes. In my opinion the strength of the new political thinking lies precisely in the fact that it is based on these realities. It proceeds from the premise that you should treat others as you would like them to treat you. When everyone has grasped this, the world will radically change for the better.

Question: In the light of the priority of universal human interests over class interests, will the question of the rehabilitation of social democracy be raised? How do you view the possibility and desirability of the development of special relations with the SDP [German Social Democratic Party]?

Answer: Ideological differences between Communists and Social Democrats are a reality. But it is also a reality that important positive changes have taken place of late on both sides. The past can be overcome by learning its lessons.

Another point. The first to formulate the idea of the priority of universal human interests were the founders of both the communist and the social democratic movement—the Germans Marx and Engels. It was also defended in a dispute with sectarians by none other than the Russian Social Democrat Lenin. And it was Lenin who wrote the Decree on Peace on the second day of our revolution. Lenin's plan for complete disarmament under strict international verification, which was put forward at the Genoa conference in 1922, was also in the mainstream of the ideas of the impact of universal human values on the fate of the civilization—which could be judged already by the terrible experience of World War I.

So these are the first elements of the socialist ideal as written into the annals of world politics. At the current stage, bearing in mind the new realities, we are trying by word and action to firmly establish this approach in international relations.

As for "special relations" with the West German Social Democrats, I am not convinced that the term "special" is altogether felicitous. It smacks of discrimination in relation to others. I would prefer to talk about "businesslike, respectful, and committed relations" which, apart from many other things presuppose an open and creative exchange of views and discussions between two major parties which represent two important independent political currents in the present-day world.

Further on Visit by FRG Chancellor Kohl

Press Details Arrival

PM2510101988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl arrived in Moscow 24 October on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

At Vnukovo Airport the FRG Government head and his wife were greeted at the foot of the aircraft steps by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and his wife; E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR Ministers A.N. Volkov and N.S. Konarev; V.Ya. Pavlov, chairman of a USSR state committee; V.T. Saykin, chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom; USSR Ambassador to the FRG Yu.A. Kvitsinskiy, and other officials were also there to greet them.

FRG Ambassador to the USSR A. Meyer-Landrut and embassy diplomatic personnel were in the welcoming party.

The FRG and Soviet state flags were flying at the airport. An honor guard made up of Moscow garrison troops was drawn up on the tarmac. A band played the two countries' national anthems.

N.I. Ryzhkov and H. Kohl inspected the Soviet troops.

The welcoming ceremony ended with a march-past by the honor guard.

The motorcade with its motorcycle escort left the airport for the city.

The streets and squares on the motorcade's route were decorated with the two countries' flags and with placards bearing salutations.

H.-D. Genscher, deputy federal chancellor and foreign minister, and other officials arrived in Moscow with the FRG federal chancellor.

There was a welcoming ceremony for the federal chancellor in the Kremlin.

The FRG and Soviet state flags were flying at the entrance to the Grand Kremlin Palace. A ceremonial detail lined the main staircase.

In St George's Hall H. Kohl and his wife were welcomed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and his wife.

After the ceremony there was a brief conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and H. Kohl.

Gorbachev Welcomes Kohl

LD2410114088 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—The ceremony of a meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev and Federal Chancellor of the FRG Helmut Kohl has begun at the St. George's Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace. Helmut Kohl arrived in the Soviet Union today for an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

Mikhail Gorbachev with his wife and Helmut Kohl with his wife exchanged handshakes. Press photographers and camera men recorded that solemn moment.

The St. George's Hall, where the ceremony is taking place, is named in honour of the Russian Order of George, the Victorious, which was instituted in 1769. Inscribed on the walls are the names of bearers of this award. Among them are great Russian Army and fleet leaders Aleksandr Suvorov, Mikhail Kutuzov, Petr Bagratyon, Fedor Ushakov.

The St. George's Hall is used for diplomatic and government receptions, orders and awards are presented there to the best people of the Soviet Union, other official ceremonies are held.

Gorbachev, Kohl Begin Talks

LD2510122688 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 25 TASS—Soviet-West German talks opened in the St. Catherine's Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace.

The Soviet side there is being led by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The West German side is being led by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany, who is in this country on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

More on Talks

PM2510115588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and H. Kohl"]

[Text] Soon after the arrival of FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev 24 October met with him for a private conversation. From the outset it acquired the nature of a very frank and serious conversation on the most principal problems which closely affect both sides. The whole discussion was imbued with an understanding of the immense significance of relations between the USSR and the FRG, not only for the two countries themselves but also for Europe and international developments as a whole.

There was straight talking, without any diplomatic niceties on difficult subjects and on major issues, and with a desire to understand each other and seek realistic solutions which would not damage anyone's interests, either allies, partners, or third countries in general, and would serve the cause of European and universal security and multifaceted international cooperation in conditions of respect for natural differences, realities which have emerged through history and observance of treaties which have been concluded.

The deep reflection and serious preparation prior to the visit were justified. The most difficult period in our relations, Comrade Gorbachev noted, is now behind us. This creates conditions for placing them on to a new level. The Soviet people and—it seems to us—broad strata of the FRG population are ready for this and desire it.

The interlocutors concurred that this principled choice was made correctly, and that it has now become possible to restore and make use of all the positive and creative things which have developed and have been worked out as a result of contacts between the peoples of the two countries over centuries in both the material and spiritual context.

The conversation was, as it were, a kind of joint weighing-up of what can be done together, so that in the period before Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's return visit to Bonn a fundamental concept of Soviet-West German relations can be prepared.

The first bricks of a joint edifice are now being laid, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted, and the task consists of working further to create trust, which is a fundamental principle of it, as well as a reliable solution to the questions of disarmament and security.

Questions of disarmament were touched upon more than once and in various aspects. It was the common opinion that talks on conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe must be started immediately.

At the same time, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed frankly the lack of understanding in the Soviet Union for the position of the FRG Government and of other NATO members on issues of nuclear weapons in Europe and their well-known intentions which run counter the prospects opened up by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Issues of ecology were examined not only in principle, from the point of view of Europe's survival, but also specifically, concerning just what the USSR and the FRG can start doing right now in order to tackle mounting, urgent problems.

Issues of economic ties were discussed in breadth and thoroughly. A mutual desire was established for implementation of the opportunities created by restructuring. The chancellor expressed support for the committed approach of FRG business circles, which are prepared to contribute to economic cooperation gaining a second wind. The expediency of vigorous involvement of small and medium-sized firms in this process was noted in particular.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with interest the chancellor's proposals for development of youth links, and also the invitation to Soviet economic managers to study the experience of production management on site in the FRG.

As far as Soviet citizens of German origin are concerned, a topic which was also touched upon, the problems existing in here are being tackled and will be resolved; but it is important not to permit interference in the internal area of competence of our state.

Thus, personal contact has been established. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Kohl expressed satisfaction at their talk, which was marked by realistic approaches, a sense of responsibility and optimism, a sense of persepctive, and understanding of the need to move Soviet-West German relations forward while remaining true to the interests of their own countries, their values, their obligations to allies, and taking into acount the role of these relations in the European and overall world process.

Gorbachev at Kremlin Dinner

LD2410182288 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—A dinner in honour of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany and his wife was given on behalf of the Soviet leadership in the Grand Kremlin Palace today.

On the Soviet side the dinner was attended by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and his wife, and by other Soviet party and state figures. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1930 GMT on 24 October in a similar report adds: "Attending on the Soviet side were Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his wife; Comrades Ryzhkov, Ligachev, Slyunkov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Maslyukov, Yazov, Biryukova; and other officials."]

Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl exchanged speeches at the dinner which was held in a friendly atmosphere.

The federal chancellor is currently in Moscow on an official visit.

The dinner was held in the Grand Kremlin Palace's Granovitaya Palata (the Hall of Facets) which got its name due to the main facade decorated with faceted white stone.

For five centuries the hall has been serving for the reception of outstanding representatives of foreign countries. It has never been rebuilt. The ancient wall painting was not preserved. The present painting was done more than a century ago by folk masters from Palekh Village which had long been famed for its artists.

Gorbachev Dinner Speech

PM2510131788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, at a Kremlin dinner for FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl on 24 October: "In the Interests of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation"]

[Text] Speech by M.S. Gorbachev [subhead] "Esteemed Mr Federal Chancellor, esteemed Mrs Kohl, ladies and gentlemen, comrades,

On behalf of the Soviet leadership I welcome you, your colleagues, representatives of the business community, and all West German guests.

We regard this visit as no ordinary event. Judging by the start of the negotiations and by what has been prepared for the meeting, this assessment is justified both from the viewpoint of bilateral relations and from the viewpoint of European and world politics. The role of our two countries in the overall complex of large-scale politics is indispensable. That is why we need relations that are based on trust and realities, that correspond, in brief, to the spirit and imperatives of the times. Above all, we ourselves need them, of course.

I note with satisfaction that the summit meeting is being dominated by the search for a reliable path toward a new stage in relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany. In this sense, the chancellor's visit, like my reciprocal visit to the FRG, may become crucial.

Ties between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Germans have existed for centuries.

Much has been materialized in deeds, traditions, culture, in the comparatively close knowledge of one another, and in the fact that there are many Soviet citizens of German origin. They are making a worthy contribution to the development of their homeland. However, there is much in the memory of the two peoples that one cannot think about without a shudder. I said the other day to my interlocutors from DER SPIEGEL magazine that we should acknowledge this—not out of vindictiveness, but in order to take it into account in building the future.

At present, we have many German friends. With the Germans in the German Democratic Republic we are firmly [This and following variations are carried in a similar report on Gorbachev's speech by Moscow TASS in English at 1953 GMT on 24 October. Here TASS deletes previous word "firmly."] linked by the community of the social system and socialist aspirations. We are comrades and allies. The choice of the Federal Republic is different. It belongs to another system and to another military-political alliance. But despite all the dramas and unpleasantness [TASS renders previous word as "problems"] of the postwar period, the objective need to look for a common language and the changes in the world have been pushing you and us in the right direction. Hence the 1970 Moscow treaty and the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin. These are milestones in European and world politics. We remember the role played in that historic undertaking by Willy Brandt and by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who is present here.

In this connection I would like to recall (something which is sometimes forgotten) that the FRG is so far the only NATO state which has a treaty with the Soviet Union renouncing the use of force. We naturally welcome the normalization and assertion of equitable relations between the FRG and the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia. All that paved the road to Helsinki.

I would have shown insincerity had I not mentioned West Berlin, because time and again we hear voices in the FRG to the effect that this issue is almost a touchstone of our relations. If the USSR does not "give in" on that issue, it is claimed, the development of Soviet-West German relations should at least be slowed down. Raising the issue in this way, no matter under what cover, not only contradicts the quadripartite agreement of 1971, but is also incompatible with the very essence of the Helsinki process. We are not against West Berlin's participation in European and international relations, and are ready to take into account its specific interests in economy and cultural life. But providing that the city's special status remains unshakable.

I have spoken more than once lately about the so-called "German question." The current situation is a result of historical development. The attempts to upset what has been created in the process or to push through unrealistic policies is an unpredictable and even dangerous business. The following words by the great Goethe are appropriate: "Nothing is more dangerous for the new truth than the old delusion." A very reliable material basis can be created for an assured and very [TASS deletes previous word "very"] promising development of Soviet-West German relations.

Restructuring in the Soviet union opens up prospects for a new level of business contacts. We have firmly decided to change our situation in the international division of labor and embark on active economic interaction with the outside world. We see that many in West Germany have understood our intention and seem to be ready to meet it halfway.

I would like to take advantage of the opportunity to note [TASS renders previous word as "praise"] the courage, broad-mindedness and, I venture to hope, foresight of representatives of the West German business community. And in this connection also the contribution of such figures as Lothar Spaeth and Johannes Rau whose approach to our relations exceeds by its significance the framework of merely "local" contacts between our republics and lands in the FRG. Well, I have to make a reservation: There is stil an inertia to look at us as an economic backwater. [TASS renders previous word as "backyard"] This inertia feeds on the outdated stereotypes that the Russians will not be able to manage by themselves.

So, in your presence I want to say to all who are going to have business with us—we will manage. We have a policy of restructuring. We have programs of radical economic reform and profound political change. The people have accepted this policy, have backed us. And what is most important they have started restructuring the entire way of life. They are using ever more effectively glasnost, learning democracy, gaining experience in using their rights and in upholding them, mastering the skills of being everywhere the true, responsible masters of their country. And this country has everything necessary to tap within an historically brief period the creative potential of socialism.

There will be difficulties in this movement of a great people awakened, there will probably be even acute moments and many new things that do not yield to management easily. But, I repeat, we will manage. We are sure of success. And for those who are prepared to cooperate with us on an equal basis and in a new way we offer our reliable hand.

Mr Federal Chancellor, the 21st century is something everyone talks about. But if we want to have a future that would be drastically different from the past, there will be a need for a very broad and responsible attitude to the present-day realities. This applies to relations between our countries. This applies to the European continent. This applies to the entire world. Let us look from various

parts of the planet at our vast and multicoloured world. How many problems, interests, contradictions, dramas, conflicts it has, how many calamities and injustices still take place.

At the same time there exists an immense scientific, technical, productive and human potential. Here in Europe we talk ever more about "East-West" relations. The term "North-South" has been firmly established in the political lexicon, and now there emerged the expression "South-East." These are the parameters of the problems. And it is necessary to look jointly for and find their solution, a solution that would be acceptable for all. Otherwise mankind will not survive. Disarmament occupies first place—this is a political axiom, and it can release huge material and intellectual resources for development.

I think that in the pursuit and in the handling of large-scale global tasks, Europe, including our two countries, will hold a unique place. But for that, Europe and both of us should understand [TASS renders previous word as "evaluate"] our own affairs and establish cooperation that would match our history, our possibilities and our responsibility. Indeed, Eastern and Western Europe have lived for four decades not only in isolation from each other, but even in an atmosphere of hostility. Inertia and cold war stereotypes have not as yet been done away with, at times they strongly affect politics as well.

Nevertheless, one cannot speak now about the split of Europe in the way it was spoken of 20 or even 10 years ago. The Helsinki Act launched an all-European process. There was a period when it nearly petered out, but in recent years it has started gathering fresh momentum thanks to the vigorous, frank, and honest dialogue between the leaders of the Western and Eastern part of Europe, the United States, and Canada.

Madrid, Stockholm, Vienna, and, of course, four Soviet-American summits and the INF Treaty have given an impetus to shaping trust. It has even become possible to put forward the idea of a "common European home," which was picked up not only by the public but also evoked the interest of political circles and governments. More is to be done in the future.

Of course, assuring mutual security is the initial step for building a new Europe. We discussed this in detail with Chancellor Kohl. The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty states have an integrated [TASS renders previous word as "comprehensive"] concept of reducing conventional arms and armed forces. The FRG Government has its own notions on that account. But we agree that it is time to sit down at the negotiating table. That is why both of us, as I understand, are against delaying the agreement on the mandate in Vienna.

I want to recall in your presence my proposal concerning the "European Reykjavik." We are impressed with President Mitterrand's amendment that the meeting be held by the started talks on conventional arms and armed forces.

Its essence is in imparting at the highest level the required dynamism to the talks, defining their immediate and distant objectives, and preventing the transformation of the talks into an endless altercation on details. We know from experience what this leads to. I don't even mention the immense political significance of the very fact of the meeting. We Europeans, should, at last, behave in accordance with the logic of the new times: not to prepare for war, not to intimidate one another, not to compete in perfecting weaponry, and not simply to try to prevent war; but, as Mr de Mita aptly said in a conversation with me, to learn to make peace.

In the economic sphere, all-European meetings have already been suggested and bilateral ties between countries of the East and West have been noticeably invigorated. But there are problems which simply cannot be solved by the efforts of any one, even large, country. This is related to improving the environment. Doesn't Europe need a single energy [TASS renders previous phrase as "united electric power"] system, a single transport system? Is it not time to think about a European information network? Everything that has been hypothetical has moved to the class of burning demands of coexistence on one continent. We suggest holding a humanitarian conference in Moscow in order to give momentum to the Helsinki process that unites us all also in the direction of human contacts and rights.

Nothing encourages trust, mutual respect, and obliteration of alienation more than joint work and creativity, more than the realization of the community of fate in the face of European and world challenges. Here we take into account the international dimensions of the role of the FRG, its relations with and commitments to others. We also count on the understanding that we, too, possess all this.

I wish prosperity, health, and successes to you, Mr Federal Chancellor and Mrs Kohl, and all those present in the hall.

To growing mutual understanding and cooperation between the USSR and the FRG for the benefit of our peoples, for the benefit of European and world peace.

Latin America & Caribbean

Brazilian President Sarney Visits Soviet Union

Sarney Urges Broadened Cooperation

PM2110140788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading: "Traveling Round the Country"]

[Text] [Brazilian President] J. Sarney arrived in Leningrad 20 October.

At the Piskaryevskoye Memorial Cemetery he honored the memory of the Leningraders and soldiers who died during the Great Patriotic War and laid a wreath on the bronze monument to the motherland.

Flowers were also laid on the monument to the heroic defenders of the city on Victory Square.

During a conversation at Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom the visitor was told about Leningrad, its economic and social development, and the tasks being resolved by Leningraders to accelerate the process of restructuring.

The Brazilian president assessed highly the results of his talks in Moscow. After noting that the two countries' commodity and economic relations do not accord with the position they occupy in today's world, J. Sarney expressed a desire to broaden mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and Brazil.

Joint Soviet-Brazilian Communique

PM2210142088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

["Joint Soviet-Brazilian Communique"]

[Text] Jose Sarney, president of the Federal Republic of Brazil, was in the USSR 17 through 21 October 1988 at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

During their stay in the Soviet Union the president and the people accompanying him were given a cordial reception. The high-ranking guest visited Moscow and Leningrad and familiarized himself with various aspects of the Soviet people's life.

President J. Sarney laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall. A wreath was also laid at the Piskarevskoye Cemetery in Leningrad.

During the visit talks were held in a spirit of friendship, cordiality, and frankness. The talks made it possible to conduct an open and constructive exchange of opinions on questions of bilateral cooperation and a wide range of international problems of mutual interest.

The following took part in the talks:

On the Soviet side—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.N. Brutents, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; A.I. Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations; V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister; L.F. Kuzmin, USSR ambassador to Brazil; Colonel General D.A. Grinkevich, chief of the main staff of the Ground Forces; and Admiral K.V. Makarov, chief of the main staff of the USSR Navy.

On the Brazilian side—Brazilian President Jose Sarney; Foreign Minister R. de Abreu Sodre; Squadron Admiral H. Saboia, minister of the Navy; Army General L. Pires Goncalves, minister of the Army; R. Cardozo Alves, minister of industry and commerce; R. Biazi [as transliterated], minister of science and technology; Divisional General R. Denys, head of the President's Military Household; R. Sardenberg, Brazilian ambassador to the USSR; L. Lampreya [as transliterated], Brazilian deputy foreign miniter; J. Vellozo [as transliterated], head of the Foreign Minister's Office; L. de Seyshas Korrea [as transliterated], adviser to the president on international issues; F. Zhunkeyra [as transliterated], chief of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry European Department; and N. Salek [as transliterated], director of the Banco do Brasil foreign trade administration.

The sides noted with satisfaction that the visit reflects the mature level achieved in bilateral relations and is evidence of the political will of the two countries' leadership to extend mutually advantageous ties and develop dialogue on international problems of mutual interest.

M.S. Gorbachev briefed President J. Sarney on the transformations taking place in the Soviet Union, aimed at the all-around renewal of Soviet society in the political, economic, social, and spiritual spheres. He stressed the indissoluble link between restructuring and the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy course, which is based on the new political thinking that promotes the strengthening of peace and security and the formation of equal, democratic, and stable international relations.

For his part, President J. Sarney spoke of his government's efforts to strengthen democracy, resolve the country's pressing economic and social problems, and expand regional and international cooperation. He noted the great interest shown in Brazil in the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union.

The sides noted the deepening of bilateral political dialogue, and in this context stressed the importance of the correspondence between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and President J. Sarney. The holding of state visits and the development of links between governmental institutions and organs of legislative and executive power in the two countries, along with the practice of regular political consultations on the basis of the relevant memorandum of mutual understanding of 1985, promote the growth of mutual understanding between the USSR and Brazil, especially as regards the perception of the key international problems and their resolution.

The sides signed a "Declaration of the Principles of Collaboration for the Sake of Peace and International Cooperation."

Examining bilateral trade and economic relations, the sides expressed a mutual commitment to further developing and deepening them. The need was noted to seek new areas and forms of cooperation in this sphere, with the wide participation both of state organizations and enterprises and of private companies. This will be promoted, in the sides' opinion, by, in particular, the implementation of the 30 September 1987 Soviet-Brazilian agreement on a long-term program of economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation, which came into force through an exchange of notes signed during the president's visit, as well as of the proposals and recommendations formulated at the 11th session of the Soviet-Brazilian intergovernmental commission on trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation held in Moscow in September 1988.

The sides welcomed the coming into force, by means of an exchange of notes, of the 30 September 1987 agreement on cultural cooperation, which is a very promising step toward the wide development of cultural cooperation between the USSR and Brazil.

The sides stressed the great significance of backing up trade and economic relations with effective instruments making it possible to intensify various forms of exchange. In this respect the sides noted the signing in the course of the visit of an agreement on reciprocal deliveries of machines, equipment, and other goods between the USSR and Brazil.

The sides stressed their satisfaction with the coming into force, by means of an exchange of notes, of the 9 December 1985 agreement on economic and technical cooperation, which will govern bilateral cooperation in this sphere.

Progress in specific areas of economic cooperation was noted with satisfaction. Touching on new spheres of cooperation, the sides noted the signing of a contract for the "Pontal" project, which provides for Soviet participation in land irrigation in the state of Pernambuco.

The sides agreed to intensify bilateral cooperation in the sphere of railroad transportation, information science, the power industry, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the construction of port installations, and other spheres, in part through the implementation of industrial cooperation projects.

With a view to further activating links in the sphere of science and technology, the sides brought into force, by means of an exchange of notes, a program of scientific and technical cooperation for 1988-1990.

During the president's visit the fourth "Expo-Brazil" exhibition was held in the Soviet Union, showing a wide range of examples of modern output of Brazilian industry. President J. Sarney visited the exhibition.

The sides agreed that the exploration of space offers very promising prospects in the sphere of Soviet-Brazilian relations and that it should take place in such a way as to keep outer space open for international cooperation for peaceful purposes. In this context the sides signed a protocol on cooperation in the exploration and utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes between the governments of the USSR and Brazil.

During the visit an exchange of notes took place on establishing a USSR consulate general in Rio de Janeiro and a Brazilian consulate general in Leningrad. An accord was also drawn up on the joint publication of a collection of documents on the history of the two countries' relations since the 19th century.

The sides held a thorough exchange of opinions on the situation in the world, making it possible to reveal the existence of similar positions on a wide range of questions of the international situation.

The USSR and Brazil welcomed the constructive steps being taken in the disarmament sphere. The sides agreed that the positive development of the present-day international situation creates favorable preconditions for substantial progress in resolving problems that concern the future of all mankind. They declared their determination to promote the strengthening of universal peace and international security. The sides also stressed the need to seek a strengthening of trust between states and the settlement of the seats of tension that remain in the world exclusively by peaceful means. To this end the USSR and Brazil came out in favor of strengthening the role of the United Nations as an effective universal mechanism for ensuring peace and universal security and establishing broad international cooperation.

The sides agreed that the coming into force of the USSR-U.S. treaty eliminating their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is of crucial positive significance and opens up prospects for reducing the danger of a nuclear conflict, as well as for beginning a broad, dynamic process of real disarmament under UN auspices, in which the problem of strategic arms reduction has an important place. With a view to achieving this significant goal, the sides stressed the importance of the speediest conclusion of a USSR-U.S. agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms. The Soviet side stressed that an essential condition for this is strict compliance by the Soviet Union and the United States with the ABM Treaty, in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and a commitment not to withdraw from it for an agreed period.

The sides noted that the Third UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament demonstrated that the vast majority of states are in favor of effective measures to curb the arms race in all spheres, first and foremost the nuclear sphere, and in favor of new approaches to disarmament problems and the utilization of the positive experience accumulated in the course of the special session at various disarmament talks.

The sides are opposed to the spread of the arms race to outer space and in favor of the development of international cooperation in the utilization of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes.

The sides believe that efforts must be made by all countries with a view to the speediest conclusion of a convention banning the production, development, and storage of chemical weapons and on destroying such weapons, as well as the stepping up of the activity of the Disarmament Conference. The USSR and Brazil came out in favor of supplementing bilateral disarmament talks with multilateral efforts in this sphere.

Reaffirming their commitment to the principles of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, the sides expressed complete support for efforts to extend nuclear-weapon-free zones in the world, and noted the positive aspects of the creation of a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic.

The sides stressed the great significance of the growing trend toward seeking ways of resolving regional conflicts, which reflects the positive change in the world political climate. They assessed highly the UN contribution to efforts to eliminate seats of regional tension by means of talks, and came out in favor of further strengthening the peace-making potential of the United Nations. Noting that the persistence of regional crises has a negative influence on the political, economic, and social development of the countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa and the general situation in the world, the sides expressed the conviction that their settlement should be based on safeguarding the right of every people freely to choose its path of development without outside interference.

The sides acknowledge the great international significance of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, which demonstrate the potential of UN actions for the peaceful settlement of disputes. In this respect they believe that successful progress for the political settlement of the Afghan problem lies through strict fulfillment of the Geneva agreements.

The participants in the talks came out in favor of the speediest convocation of an international conference on the Near East, under UN auspices with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO, as well as the five permanent members of the Security Council, with a view to achieving a just, comprehensive settlement in the region on the basis of consideration of the legitimate interests of all participants in the conflict.

The sides welcomed the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front and noted the important role played in this by the UN secretary general and Security Council. They believe that no recurrence of war must be permitted, and the real opportunity to channel the development of the situation toward strengthening peace and ensuring security for the peoples of that region must not be wasted.

The sides noted positive developments in the direction of a political settlement of the Cambodia problem as a result of the accords reached during the informal meeting of the Cambodian sides, as well as the countries of Indochina and ASEAN, in Indonesia. The sides expressed the hope that this meeting will help to find solutions leading to the normalization of the situation in Southeast Asia.

The sides came out in favor of the speediest just political settlement of the conflict in southern Africa. The Soviet Union and Brazil express the hope that in the course of talks between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa through the mediation of the United States, a mutually acceptable solution will be found, ensuring Namibia's independence and the strengthening of Angola's security.

The sides stressed the significance of the peace-making activity of the Contadora group and the support group aimed at a political solution to the problems of Central America. They proceed from the premise that there is no alternative to the peaceful path and multilateral talks between the Central American states on the basis of the Guatemala agreements, respect for each other's rights, and consideration of the legitimate interests of all interested parties. The sides agreed that the situation in Central America can and should be settled by the Latin American countries themselves, with no outside interference and with a view to ensuring every people's right to an independent path of development.

The sides also stressed the need speedily to find forms of overcoming present-day international economic problems which would make it possible to eliminate the gulf between the developing and developed countries. The sides acknowledged that the disproportions created by the present international economic order are one of the main reasons for the constant violation of equilibrium, which jeopardizes the existence of international peace. In this connection the sides agreed on the need to step up economic cooperation between all countries and ensure international economic security in order to eliminate disproportions in the world economy. The sides stressed the urgent need to put into practice the principle "Disarmament for Development" and to redistribute the resources currently spent on the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, diverting these resources to the purposes of socioeconomic development, in particular for the developing countries.

The sides expressed concern over the problem of the developing countries' foreign debt, and consider it necessary for the resolution of this problem to be just and to

ensure prospects for economic growth by the debtor countries. They stressed that the settlement of the debt problem should be based on the principle of mutual and proportionate responsibility of creditors and debtors. The sides condemned discriminatory practices in international trade, manifestations of protectionism, and the use of economic levers for purposes of coercion and political pressure.

The sides agreed that the Antarctic treaty and the supplementary agreements constitute a multilateral legal foundation that has operated effectively and dynamically for more than 2.5 decades. This system has ensured the maintenance of peace in the Antarctic, nonmilitarization, the nuclear-free status, and environmental conservation, as well as the peaceful development of international cooperation there, thus promoting the implementation of the aims and principles of the UN Charter. In view of this the sides advocate strengthening and improving this international legal mechanism.

The sides came out in favor of respect for human rights, the establishment of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, the further improvement of international humanitarian ties, and the development of multilateral international cooperation in this sphere within the UN framework. In connection with the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the sides stressed the topicality of this instrument and the significance of its all-around observance by the world community. They also stressed the need to deepen collaboration between states in the sphere of culture, information, education, and contacts between people, institutions, and organizations.

The sides expressed deep satisfaction with the results of the official visit to the Soviet Union by Brazilian President Jose Sarney—the first visit at such a high level in the history of Soviet-Brazilian relations. This event marks an important stage in the development and strengthening of bilateral relations in various spheres and creates new preconditions for further cooperation.

President J. Sarney expressed gratitude for the warm reception and reaffirmed an invitation to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to visit Brazil at a time to be settled by mutual agreement.

The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Exchange of Military Attaches

PY2010212088 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 20 Oct 88 p 2

[Excerpt] Moscow—The government of Brazil and the Soviet Union yesterday agreed to appoint military attaches to their respective embassies. This matter has been discussed by diplomatic officials over the past few months.

According to Bayma Denys, chief of the military household, there are still some details to be ironed out, such as the tenure of the attaches in each country, and whether the three services will be represented in Moscow and Brasilia. The foreign ministers of the two countries will decide on these two matters. [passage omitted on previously filed material]

Political & Social

PRAVDA Editorial Discusses Draft Laws

PM2510114188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Democratization of Our Life; Discussion Has Begun of the Drafts of the Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution of the USSR and the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] Drafts of the law on amendments and additions to the (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and the law on elections of USSR people's deputies have been submitted for nationwide discussion. The telephones are ringing constantly in the editorial office now. Readers are sharing their impressions of the documents, providing details about or asking for clarification of several clauses, and making their own proposals.

The most distinctive feature of today's stage in our society's renewal is that millions of Soviet people have emerged from a state of political apathy and are adopting active civic stances. The reform of the political system should be the most important lever for further boosting this activeness of the people and directing it into a single creative channel. The draft laws which have been published are, it may be said, the legal foundation for the reform and the implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference.

Why has the question of amendments and additions to the Constitution arisen? Why was a new law on elections of USSR people's deputies needed? They are designed to make the revolutionary process of restructuring irreversible. The point is that while as a whole they work actively for socialism, our laws have, experience has shown, been unable to prevent a series of very grave negative phenomena in which we rightly see the fundamental reasons for the difficulties society is experiencing today.

The political system that now exists spent decades adapting not to the organization of social life on the basis of democratic principles but primarily to the fulfillment of administrative instructions. It was characterized by the increasing concentration of management in the hands of the party-political leadership and executive apparatus. The soviets of people's deputies proved powerless. The work of law enforcement organs weakened drastically. A paradoxical situation took shape whereby the Constitution and our laws lived, as it were, for themselves, while management practice moved along its own long since well-trodden avenue.

The main thing—man—was in many respects excluded from the political system as its main protagonist. Incantations from the rostrum about the power of the people, voluntarism and subjectivism in practice, speechifying about democratic institutions while in reality flouting the norms of the socialist way of life—all these were not isolated instances in the system of leadership.

The additions and amendments to the USSR Constitution and the new law on elections are extensive. They are aimed primarily at the democratization of our entire life and the return of power to the soviets of people's deputies, placing them above all other state institutions. It is essentially a case of full power for the people. The activity of the soviets of people's deputies, Article 94 of the draft of the new law states, is based on collective, free, and businesslike discussion and resolution of questions; glasnost; regular accountability of executive and management organs and other organs created by the soviets, to them and to the population; and the wide involvement of citizens in their work. The soviets of people's deputies and the organs set up by them take account of public opinion, submit the most important questions of statewide and local significance for discussion by citizens, and systematically inform citizens about their work and the decisions adopted. This article, like indeed the other articles, has been considerably expanded compared with the Constitution adopted in 1977.

The Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR with 2,250 deputies will become the supreme organ of state power. It will include 750 deputies from territorial okrugs with equal numbers of voters, 750 deputies from national-territorial electoral okrugs, and 750 deputies from all-union public organizations. The Congress of Soviets will assemble to resolve the most important state tasks every year. The structure and functions of the Supreme Soviet will be different. It will become a permanently operating legislative, management, and control organ of USSR state power.

The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet will head the work of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium it forms. An exceptionally important place in the system of supreme organs of power is assigned to the Constitutional Oversight Committee, which will be elected by the Congress of People's Deputies and will ensure control over the Constitution's compliance with the laws and government resolutions which are issued and the normative acts of other state organs and public organizations.

The actual organization of the work of soviets of all levels is being fundamentally changed. The role of sessions, standing commissions, and the deputies increases. Ostentation, duplication in work, and mere outward unanimity are eliminated. As they say, the time when everyone voted "for" and rose in the soviets should be left to the period of stagnation. It is impermissible to tolerate any longer that the apparatus and executive committee should usurp the representative organ that is the soviet. Only the soviet, only the deputies, should resolve key questions of state life and control the activity of the management organs. The presidiums set up in them are called on to activate the work of the soviets as collective organs.

The work of the soviets will largely depend on the corps of deputies. The best representatives of our society, capable of expressing and implementing voters' interests, should be elected to the organs of power. The new

law on elections of USSR people's deputies will help to implement this in practice. The elections are held in single-seat electoral okrugs on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot—that is proclaimed by Article One of the draft law. In addition, according to norms established by the USSR Constitution, one-third of people's deputies will be elected from all-union public organizations—the CPSU, trade unions, cooperative organizations, the All-Union Lenin Komsomol, associations of women, war and labor veterans, and scientific workers, creative unions, and other public organizations and associations of USSR citizens created within the procedure established by law and with all-union organizations. Elections of local soviet people's deputies are held in single-seat and multiseat okrugs—there is already such experience in the country.

The draft laws which have been published define specific measures for forming the socialist rule-of-law state and restructuring the work of the law enforcement organs. The authority of the court is increased and the independence of judges and their subordination only to the law is ensured. Judges of all courts are elected for a term of 10 years and people's assessors for a period of 5 years. They are responsible to voters or to the soviets of people's deputies which elected them and they can be recalled within the procedure established by law. Judges and people's assessors are provided with conditions for the unimpeded and effective implementation of their rights and duties.

The draft laws contain many other important elements for the democratization of our life. It is important to consider them comprehensively and enrich them with specific experience. Every Soviet person can submit his proposals and comments. The party organizations are called on to use the discussion of the draft laws to enhance the working people's activeness and increase their contribution to restructuring.

Moscovites To Vote in Multicandidate Elections

LD2310091388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 23 Oct 88

[From the "Morning Panorama" program presented by Igor Zorin]

[Text] Today Muscovites received invitations to vote in elections to rayon soviets, the Moscow City Soviet, and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation in a number of constituencies in place of deputies who have ceased to hold their posts. Here is something which I want to note: You know that the new law on elections has not yet been adopted; but, all the same, alternative candidatures have been submitted and registered as candidates for the post of deputy in the majority of constituencies. Two names, and even three in one of the constituencies, appear on the voting ballots. In those places where it was deemed necessary to put forward one candidate, this was preceded by discussions in labor collectives, at meetings with voters, and at constituency preelection conferences, where each candidate's preelection platform was examined in detail.

Party Slogans for October Revolution Anniversary

PM2310175388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

["CPSU Central Committee Slogans for the 71st Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] 1. Hail to the 71st anniversary of Great October!

2. Long live Marxism-Leninism—creative teaching and ideological foundation of the renewal of Soviet society!

3. Glory to bolshevik Leninists and party, war, and labor veterans!

4. Comrades! Let us implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference! Let us make revolutionary restructuring irreversible!

5. Communists! By the force of example and conviction involve millions of people in the process of the renewal of socialism!

6. Working people of the Soviet Union! Struggle for the implementation of the economic reform, introduce full financial autonomy, self-financing, leasing, and cooperatives!

7. Workers, peasants, and intelligentsia! Through conscientious and creative labor let us implement the party's socioeconomic policy and the course aimed at improving the people's living conditions!

8. Citizens of the Soviet Union! Strengthen the fraternity of the USSR's peoples—the great gain of the Leninist nationalities policy!

9. Citizens of the USSR! Participate actively in the reform of the political system, the enhancement of the role of the soviets, and the democratization of all spheres of our life!

10. Communists! Citizens of the land of the soviets! Assert truth and glasnost, eradicate bureaucratism, routine, and inertness!

11. Citizens of the USSR! Let us create a socialist rule-of-law state affirming the supremacy of the law, individual rights and freedoms, and the authority of power!

12. Citizens of the Soviet Union! Speak out in defense of nature, participate in the protection of the environment!

13. Working people in the agro-industrial complex! Struggle for a radical improvement in food supplies to the population, master new forms of economic management more boldly!

14. Soviet scientists, engineers, and inventors! Accelerate scientific and technical progress, the intensification of production, and the growth of labor productivity!

15. Working people in public education! Implement the school reform, arm the young generation with modern knowledge, labor skills, and ideological conviction!

16. Working people in health care! Raise the quality of medical assistance, display more attention and charity toward people!

17. Figures active in literature and the arts! Enrich the spiritual world, mold an active civic stance in people, truthfully and vividly reflect the course of restructuring!

18. Soviet trade unions! Firmly and consistently defend working people's rights, strive for the introduction of new methods of economic management and labor organization and incentives!

19. Komsomol members! Young men and women! Master the legacy of the great Lenin, be in the front ranks of the fighters for the revolutionary renewal of society!

20. Long live Soviet women—active participants in restructuring, caring raisers of the young generation!

21. Soviet servicemen! Reliably protect the socialist motherland, be selfless patriots and internationalists!

22. May the CPSU's solidarity with communist and workers' parties and all social forces strengthen in the struggle for peace and social progress, for freedom and democracy!

23. Ardent greetings to the peoples of the socialist states! May the community of fraternal countries strengthen!

24. Peoples of the world! Strengthen trust, mutual understanding, and cooperation! Let us defend world civilization against the nuclear danger!

25. May the name and cause of the great Lenin live forever!

Supreme Soviet To Meet 27 Oct on Plan, Budget

LD2310145888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has decreed that a regular session of the supreme body of the state power in the country shall be convened on 27 October in Moscow. Registration of deputies arriving to attend the session will take place on 25-26th October from 1000 to 1900 in the St. George Hall of the Great Kremlin Palace.

I remind you that the State Plan for 1989 and the progress in fulfilling the plan in the present year are being submitted for consideration by the session. The state budget for the coming year will also be considered.

Further on 19 Oct Council of Ministers Meeting

LD2310120688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1635 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Report by Lev Aleksandrovich Voznesenskiy on the 19 October session of the USSR Council of Ministers—portions recorded]

[Text] [Voznesenskiy] We present a report on the session of the USSR Council of Ministers which took place on 19 October. The session was conducted by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] We have a fairly full agenda today, comrades. It already has become a tradition of each quarter to add up at the Council of Ministers the results of the fulfillment of the state plan over the elapsed period and to map out measures and ways for ending the current year's plan.

No doubt you have noticed that today we have departed from the traditional name given to this question. We have called this issue: Progress in the country's social and economic development and tasks in completing the year 1988. The fact is, comrades, that this is not simply a random change of one title for another. We attach a certain significance to this. You know that in working under the new conditions—and already in our country half of industry and of the national economy are working under the new economic conditions, and next year we will transfer the whole of the national economy in full—we now are planning the national economy in a completely different way and, as they say, we also must regulate the processes by which the country's economy works in an appropriate way.

During the discussion of these questions at the Council of Ministers we must proceed from precisely these prerequisites. If on this platform we are only going to deal with, if we are only going to talk about every percentage and every ton of coal—which is necessary, it is necessary, since without it the national economy could not operate—but if we are not going to note the processes taking place in our economy and the trends, the positive and negative trends that are present—those of both kinds—then of course, as they say, we are not going to be in the spirit of our economic reform. The restructuring of the economic mechanism demands, of course, that we pick out these trends. If we pick them out and if we make

certain adjustments at the right time, then we will go in the direction we have chosen in the plan that we mapped out at the 27th CPSU Congress.

During the discussion of the first question, therefore, I would ask the comrades in their reports and in the speeches one must expect, I would ask that in discussing both the state of the economy at today's date and the prospects for completing our plans for 1988, we approach matters from precisely these standpoints. I think that we clearly will continue to conduct matters in such a way as to turn more and more in precisely this direction. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] The floor is given to Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, for a report:

[Begin Maslyukov recording] Comrades! Adding up the results in fulfilling the state plan for the first nine months of 1988 and analyzing the processes taking place in the national economy at the stage in question, one can say with confidence that the processes of improvement in the social and economic situation have been building up during the current year and that the country's economic position has grown stronger. The rate of economic growth and the effectiveness of production and contract discipline have improved consistently. The fuel and energy complex and the metallurgical complex have worked in a stable way, insuring in a reliable fashion the activity of the whole national economy, the economy of the socialist countries, and exports for freely convertible currency.

As a result of intensifying social reorientation in the development of the economy and strengthening the material base in the social sphere, there has been an improvement in the living conditions of Soviet people and an increase in working people's real incomes. The new methods of economic management are gaining strength. Progressive forms of production organization and management based upon contracting and long-term leasing are being implemented firmly. Cooperative activities and individual labor activity are developing. The national economy is moving forward in the solution of the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and the positive advance in solving the problem of intensifying the economy that has taken shape since the start of the 12th 5-Year Plan period has been continuing. The entire increase in the national income that has been produced in output of industry and agriculture, in building and assembly work, and in the volume of things transported has been obtained through the growth of labor productivity.

A steady factor in this growth is represented by an intensification of the process of decreasing the numbers of those working in material production as a result of enterprises operating in conditions of full financial autonomy and self-financing. In connection with this, the issue of putting the country's labor resources to use arises in a new way. The numbers of workers and employees engaged in material production sectors have declined over 9 months by more than 1 million people, relative to the corresponding period last year. This includes 600,000 in industry and 200,000 in agriculture and transportation. A considerable proportion of workers being released from production sectors, as well as the entire increase in labor resources, currently are sent to work in the service sphere and in enterprises belonging to the social and culture complex.

The growth in labor productivity, which ought to be substantially ahead of the growth of wages, assumes foremost significance. This is because breaching of this most important economic proportion leads to the domestic goods market being tense in the extreme and to the development of inflationary processes. Practice shows that one must not let this proportion slip from centralized control on the part of the state. The earnings of working people can, in the new conditions of running the economy, grow as much as one likes, but through a growth in labor productivity. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] Further, the chairman of the USSR analyzed the course of implementing the state scientific and technical programs. He gave a critical appraisal of the work to save resources being carried out in national economy complexes and sectors, and at enterprises. Unfortunately, he noted, so far there has been no radical breakthrough in this most important work.

[Begin Maslyukov recording] All this shows that turning toward making use of predominantly intensive factors of economic growth is proceeding slowly. It is, therefore, no coincidence that in the January to September period there was a shortfall in the national income of approximately R11.5 billion, mainly due to the tasks of reducing materials consumed in all sectors of the production sphere not having been fulfilled and due to a shortfall in agricultural output.

The lagging behind in the development of machine building, chemicals, and the timber complex, as well as in other sectors of the processing industry, does not allow for improvement in the proportions between the fuel and raw materials sector and the processing sector.

Overfulfillment of the production plan in terms of value and in physical terms is continuing mainly thanks to the fuel and raw materials industries. As a result of this, we are selling the output of these industries as export goods, while at the same time purchasing machine-building items, raw materials for the light industry, foodstuffs, and grain. To our great regret, it has not as yet proved possible to break this vicious circle, but we all must take a sober look at this process and adopt the most exceptional measures to satisfy through domestic production

the population's requirements for foodstuffs and the national economy's requirements for good-quality equipment and for raw and processed materials. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] The report examined in detail major shortcomings in the work of the leading national economy complexes and sectors. Regarding the production of consumer items, the Gosplan chairman said, among other things:

[Begin Maslyukov recording] A special role in the matter of satisfying the market with non-foodstuff articles belongs to light industry. The situation here is extremely strained. Despite the fulfillment of targets for the total of enterprises' plans in retail prices, there has been a shortfall in output of R1.2 billion. Of 49 items taken into account by the State Statistics Committee [Goskomstat] on the national economic level, the enterprises of the Ministry of Light Industry unjustifiably reduced the production of almost half the low-priced items as opposed to last year, something that exerts a negative influence on the living standard of families that are not well off. The quality of the goods turned out by light industry remains low. A selective check on output carried out by the wholesale depots of the Ministry of Trade in the first 6 months of the year revealed that 10.4 percent of the checked quantity of cotton fabrics, almost 8 percent of ready-made garments, around 5 percent of knitwear, and over 8 percent of leather footwear were rejects. All this shows that for all the broad rights with which it has been endowed, the Ministry of Light Industry is not insuring a restructuring or production in line with the vital needs of the population. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] Sharp criticism was directed at the economic managers of a number of republics where people experience particularly great difficulties in acquiring timber materials, construction materials, and other goods. A major section of the report was devoted to topical problems of conserving the environment. Much attention was devoted to an analysis of the development of the social sphere, both in the country as a whole and for republics and industries. Concluding his report, Comrade Maslyukov formulated the main tasks that need to be fulfilled to complete the current economic year.

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, there is the following matter: You said in your report—and the Goskomstat figures say the same—that in the first 9 months of the year the income of the population grew by 9.1 percent. We have never had such incomes. We have picked a roughly 3-year quota: The usual figure is 3-3.5 percent per annum. Now we have 9.1 percent over 9 months. The growth of industrial production was 4.3 percent. The growth in productivity of public sector labor was 5.2 percent. Trade turnover also has increased on an unprecedented scale: by 6 percent. So wherever we look, there is a lack of correspondence everywhere; there is a lack of correspondence between the growth in incomes and all the other indices showing the supply of commodity resources, services, and so on.

How are we to continue? On the one hand, look: Incomes have gone up to a degree that no one has ever seen in our country, and at the same time a situation has arisen in which everyone says that the shelves are empty, there is nothing in the shops, and so on. This truly is the actual reality. What has happened is that money today has swamped the market. What measures does Gosplan intend to adopt to make this correlation between the supply of goods and cash incomes correspond in some measure to economic laws? If we continue like this, we quite simply will fail to balance the market and will aggravate the situation.

[Maslyukov] Nikolay Ivanovich, I would put my reply to that question like this: There are three points that have not yet been worked through economically and juridically today. They are leasing relationships, both in industry and in agriculture, that is the first issue; the second issue is the cooperative movement, which has to be dealt with; and the third issue is the second form of financial autonomy.

This year those documents will be prepared by Gosplan and the commission. The basis of them has to be a system of taxes, of progressive taxes, on wage increases, and a whole system of concessionary taxes, or preferential taxes, on development production, on the production development funds, on the social and cultural construction funds, so that everyone understands that it is more advantageous to put money into the development of production and the improvement of the conditions for the collective's social development rather than into increasing wages.

Such documents are being worked out, Nikolay Ivanovich. Unfortunately, progress is very difficult because our experience in this field, unfortunately, well, we still have to look at it through the microscope. We will continue the work.

[Ryzhkov] Some decisions have to be made because the state cannot go on functioning like that any longer. It cannot. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] On the platform is Boris Ivanovich Gostev, USSR minister of finance.

[Begin recording] [Gostev] Under conditions of modern management methods and the radical economic reform, comrades, finances are a most important generalizing index or indicator, one might say, of the country's economic and social development. The positive changes taking place in the national economy under the influence of the 19th CPSU Conference are reflected in the budget incomes. Nevertheless, the additional incomes and the savings in expenditure have not been sufficient to cover

the requirements of the union budget. It has been necessary to bring into the budget R6.7 billion in credit resources of the USSR State Bank over and above the plan. As far as the budgets of the union republics are concerned, here the situation appears somewhat better. The income plan has been fulfilled by all union republics.

[Ryzhkov] Boris Ivanovich, how then does it happen that the union budget is unable to make ends meet, whereas all the union republics do make ends meet? For goodness' sake, give us some explanation of the mechanics of it.

[Gostev] Nikolay Ivanovich, you see what is happening, when the budget was compiled we considered it necessary to take into the union budget the whole burden, so to speak, of the deficit that was not provided for when the plans were worked out, in order to strengthen the lower financial link and to strengthen finances at the lower level.

[Ryzhkov] But what kind of strengthening is this? It is perverse. Look, a few years ago only Kazakhstan was in receipt of subsidies in our country. Kazakhstan was on its own in that respect. It could not make ends meet. What is happening now?

[Gostev] Now there are five union republics.

[Ryzhkov] Five union republics. Where is the guarantee under the existing system that next year, or in 1 year, we will not find the we have a couple more republics like that?

[Gostev] Some are getting close to it, you know. Georgia has come close, and even the Russian Federation, so to speak, is close.

[Ryzhkov] All right, but this is no system, taking into the union budget...

[Gostev, interrupting] Beginning next year—and both you and the comrades know about this—under the draft budget for next year the burden has been distributed proportionately between the union budget and the republican budgets. Apparently this will be discussed during the session. All in all, I would like to draw this conclusion: There is a certain consolidation of finances in our country and, the main thing, the finances of the lower level—enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes and sovkhozes—are being consolidated. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] The USSR minister of finance then analyzed specific data on the state of the country's budget and pointed out the fact that the deficit is growing. He suggested a number of measures to correct this situation, to eliminate loss-making in various sectors of the economy and the squandering of state resources. The losses in the national economy, he said, reach colossal dimensions: more than R20 billion a year. The minister noted the need to step up the struggle against leveling and the attitude of living at others' expense.

[Begin recording] [Gostev] At many enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes earnings and wages exceed what is earned. Incomes are being eaten away. Thus, the wages fund at the Staro-Krymskoye Rayon paper combine in the Crimean Oblast exceeds income by R72,000. Several times...

[Ryzhkov interrupts] How does it make ends meet, then?

[Gostev] It makes ends meet through indebtedness. They simply go to the bank, and there they are given money...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] But who gives them money?

[Gostev] The money is released by the bank.

[Ryzhkov] But then what is wrong with the bank?

[Gostev] The bank works mainly according to the commands of the local soviet and party bodies.

[Unidentified voice] How interesting!

[Ryzhkov] In that case, no controls at all will ever be sufficient in the country if someone just presses the button for the money to be given, whether earned or not. Is this a joke or in earnest?

[Gostev] No, this is not a joke. I am being serious here. The expenditure to cover wages was several times greater than the gross revenue obtained in individual farms in the Kazakh SSR, the kolkhozes in Novgorod Severskiy Rayon in Chernigov Oblast in the Ukraine, and in Mishkinskiy and Sterlibashevskiy Rayons in Bashkir ASSR. Apparently we must all understand at long last that the budget is not a bottomless barrel. You can only get from it what you have put into it. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] The floor then was given to Yevgeniy Ivanovich Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and minister of the USSR.

[Begin recording] [Sizenko] A few words about the results of the work of the agro-industrial complex: During the 9 months that have passed, there has been a growth in the production and procurement of livestock farming output and the set targets have been met. Our annual rate of growth for the year is 3.6 percent. Currently we have 3.1 percent, but we will reach that rate, Nikolay Ivanovich. During this period we have increased the production of butter, meat, cheeses, and confectionery by 4 percent, and of vegetable oil by 10 percent, and so on.

[Ryzhkov] I am going to interrupt you, all the same. It may well be a violation of democracy, but I am going to interrupt you. You are giving us all the percentages, but tell everyone—those in the government and all those who are present today because they have been invited—how much butter do we eat that is our own output and how much do we eat that is someone else's product?

[Sizenko] Unfortunately, we still eat a lot which is other people's produce: 1.65 million of our own...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] All right, millions don't tell anyone anything. I will tell you simply that this year 1 out of every 5 kg of butter we eat is not of our own production. Next year—given those percentages you are ramming down our throats—1 out of every 4 kg we eat will not be our own, but French, Swedish, German, and so on, but not Soviet! Talk about this. How are we going to go on? How much vegetable oil do we consume today that is not our own produce? I do not remember what the proportion is; 800,000 [unit of measure not specified] of vegetable oil we buy abroad. Dried fruit: It is 60 or even 70 percent, I think, of dried fruit that we eat from other people's produce. Our own goes rotten.

[Sizenko] Nikolay Ivanovich, I want to say that we are not satisfied with these rates. We have a lot of shortcomings and omissions in the work of the State Agro-Industrial Committee. The demand from the population for food products really is not satisfied today. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] Comrade Sizenko went on to talk about the reasons for the insufficient production of agricultural output and described measures for putting the existing situation right. He spoke of the need for fodder production to be developed on farms, for the numbers of cattle to be increased, and for the efficiency of kolkhoz, sovkhoz and other enterprise work within the agro-industrial complex to be raised. He paid special attention to the problem of developing lease-contracting.

[Begin recording] [Sizenko] We are instituting special supervision of this work, particularly where loss-making farms are concerned.

[Ryzhkov] I consider that you have worked out the worst programs for eliminating loss-making farms in the country—you, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee. There are some well-worked out programs, in machine-building, for instance. In our view, Comrade Silayev has done some good work. There are some moderately good programs, but I think that you have simply formal programs.

How come Comrade Silayev has announced bankruptcies in IZVESTIYA—(?10) of them or so, or a little more—and yet you shrink from doing so?

[Sizenko] We do not shrink from doing so. We are working on it now. When the year is over, we will carry this out.

[Ryzhkov] You see, Yevgeniy Ivanovich, on 12 October Mikhail Sergeyevich said that leasing relations will not get going so long as we continue to pay unearned money. That was roughly the sense of what he said. Boris Ivanovich Gostev put it another way today. He said the button is pressed, and the command to pay out is given. So what is going on? The country's leadership says one thing, but totally different principles prevail locally. I do not think that the Gosagroprom system...[Ryzhkov changes thought] Please understand: When we say USSR Gosagroprom I have in mind not just the apparatus in Moscow, but also the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the republics seated here. So, is the button pressed without your knowledge? Or is it you who get the button pressed and give the banks instructions to pay out the money? I am astonished at our bankers. How do they intend to function within the new economic reform? Is their attitude to be one of: How can we oblige? Those times are over. We have given them the label of bureaucratic-directive planning and working, and so on. We have to put a stop to this. You know, we will call the bankers strictly to account if they continue to operate on this basis. There must be economic relations. We have now seen for ourselves that general discussions are under way within the Gosagroprom system. They will not be adequate for us, and you will have to return to this problem again. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] Yuriy Aleksandrovich Bespalov, USSR minister of the chemical industry, spoke next. He spoke of the industry's results in the first 9 months, the surmounting of unprofitable enterprises, the organizing of a credit bank for the industry, and the need to refine links between the ministry and enterprises in the new economic management conditions. Here is how Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, began his speech: The guidelines given by the government regarding the in-depth study of economic methods of working and of the financial situation are absolutely correct. Describing the state of affairs in industry and agriculture, the tackling of the housing and food problems in the republic, and difficulties in supplying projects at the pre-commissioning stage with material resources, he noted that we need a more effective mechanism for coordinating the activity of local soviets and the union ministries. Serafim Vasilyevich Kolpakov, USSR minister of ferrous metallurgy, spoke with particular alarm of capital construction in the industry, which he described as catastrophic.

Shortcomings were also noted in the conclusion of contracts with other ministries and departments for supplies of metal, as was the extremely unsatisfactory work in collecting, handing over, and utilizing scrap metal in the country. Vladimir Makarovich Velichko, USSR minister of heavy, power, and transport machine-building, spoke next. He described, inter alia, the concluding of contracts

for 1989 and the establishment of international joint stock companies. He expressed the view that the economic reform is beginning to affect the deep-seated interests of labor collectives and every person and to exert a direct influence on these interests, and via them on the results of production.

Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, spoke from the rostrum.

[Begin Biryukova recording] Esteemed comrades, I would like to dwell on the way one of the key social tasks both now and for the next few years is being tackled. I refer to the saturation of the market with consumer goods and chargeable services. To judge by the figures that describe the results of the work in the first 9 months of the year based on the total of plans of enterprises and what we are given by Goskomstat, the picture that emerges is at first glance quite satisfactory. In the production of goods, chargeable services, and retail trade, these targets would appear to have been generally overfulfilled. The actual state of affairs regarding plan fulfillment and satisfying the population's demand for consumer goods and services, however, remains extremely strained. Shortages are constantly occurring first on these articles, then on those; there are long lines, sometimes lasting many hours, for the most essential items: furniture, domestic appliances, laundry soap, TV sets, radios, footwear, and clothes; irate letters are written. There are in actual fact no longer any goods in the country that are not in short supply. Long letters are sent to the Council of Ministers and local soviets.

All this has unfortunately become an integral part of our way of life today, a factor that has a very negative influence on the country's situation. What is going on? Why is there such a divergence, such a gulf, with the comparatively successful statistics and the comparatively tranquil—not even comparatively, but simply tranquil—attitude by ministries and councils of ministers? The fact is that not a single speech today has touched on this issue in any way, with the exception of the reports by Yuriy Dmitriyevich and Boris Ivanovich. Why has such a situation arisen on the consumer market?

This is what an analysis shows: It is perfectly obvious that the point of reference for an objective evaluation of the correlation of consumer demand and resources of goods must be not the sum of the plans of enterprises, but the theoretical, initial, or, if you like, control targets for production of consumer goods presented by Gosplan and the USSR Council of Ministers to industries and republics for the current year and the following year. If we assess the results of the work of the ministries and the union republics for 9 months using that criterion, then we get an utterly joyless, and I would even say depressing, picture. Judge for yourselves: The annual plans of enterprises for output of nonfood goods today are R5.2 billion lower than the control figures confirmed by Gosplan, and this includes R2.5 billion for cultural and domestic products and household goods and R2.7 billion for light industry. Calculations show that in order to cope with the plan for the year to give the people those goods to which they have a right it is necessary to increase significantly the rate of production in the remaining period, by an average of 1.8 to 2.2 times. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] Comrade Biryukova sharply criticized the work of those complexes and ministries where a particularly unfavorable situation has developed with regard to the fulfillment, as was said, of their obligations to the people for consumer goods, and also of a number of republics, where construction and commissioning of production capacities for turning out those goods is proceeding unsatisfactorily.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Comrades, I think that today's discussion allows us to conclude that certain improvements in the country's economy and positive trends which are giving cause for satisfaction to some degree have taken shape. At the same time, objectively speaking we cannot conclude that fundamental changes which have radically altered the whole economic situation in the state have occurred.

This, of course, must be viewed in light of the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th party conference. Clearly, we must assess our activities from those decisions alone. I think we should not do so at Council of Ministers sessions. It seems to me to be a positive phenomenon that we talk at least of all about the things we have achieved, and more of the problems that need to be tackled. We do not hold these meetings here to praise one another and smooth over all the issues. We must talk frankly about the questions that need to be resolved.

The central task we must resolve both this year and, evidently, in the next year or two, is to establish employment stability. There is no stability in the economy. That is our scourge. We constantly go through booms and slumps. Today, of course, a most important indicator of the country's economic situation is the socal situation. It is this situation that today, in the last couple of years, has been determining our whole climate, the political and economic climate of our country. This is a new phenomenon, and, in our view, it is a positive phenomenon. This is because it really does reflect the interests of the people, as distinct from past years when we used to talk about the indicator of the development of the economy as being the amount of coal, the amount of steel, and so on. Those things are also necessary. The state would not survive without them. But the fact that today we make assessments based on this factor, the human factor, the social factor, if one can put it that way, is, I believe, a positive phenomenon. It requires us, however, to give it much more attention than we have in past years. Of all the issues of the social sphere of our economy, I would like to say that our worst situation today is in the area of

the food problem. You know that a party Central Committee plenum will examine these issues especially in February. The government is currently preparing a whole package of measures for this plenum. We must find all the solutions to the country's food problems.

I should also like to discuss another matter: the dynamics of prices, comrades. You will know that this week the Central Committee Politburo especially considered this problem. There was a very serious discussion and an in-depth analysis, and the conclusions that were drawn were thus: Alongside the existence of positive phenomena in this area, a very large number of adverse tendencies have piled up and are now perceptible. Take, for example, light industry. The fact that more goods that are fashionable and in increased demand are now being produced and that some sort of increment is awarded—the letter 'N', or some other letter—this is a positive phenomenon. We have constantly screamed about the lack of fashionable goods. They have now begun to appear. But it is a negative aspect that the system is now discouraging the production of inexpensive goods.

What has it hit? Children's goods. We have begun making fewer goods for children, because profitability there is totally different. The government has now made a decision; I think you have read it. I believe this material was in IZVESTIYA, as well as a commentary on that decision. I want to inform the members of the government that we formerly paid an additional sum of R2.3 billion for children's goods; but at the same time, profitability was low. Now we have made a mechanism such that, even if it is not advantageous, it should at least not entail losses for enterprises that produce goods for children. For this we are even obliged to take another R500 million from the budget. We shall give this to the enterprises, so that they can produce more items for children there.

The Supreme Soviet will start examining the 1989 plan in a few days. We have discussed it in detail here. Evidently, there is no need for me to dwell on it in detail. I should just like to bring two or three matters to your attention. Completion of the campaign to conclude contracts: I believe, and this is my personal opinion, that the fact that we are working better this year, compared with 1987—of course it is produced by returns from the economic reform, these positive trends have started, although they are not flowing well everywhere, but also by the fact that we concluded our contracts on time last year. Today the picture is totally different. We have worked more or less, in a stable manner, without any major disruptions. If enterprises refuse absolutely to conclude contracts and do not want to turn out production, we still have to work with them; if they use their rights and do not wish, as we say, to supply products, we can't give them a caning. But, comrades, we made a very correct decision last year: we cannot... [changes thought] enterprises are protected by law. They can accept the control figures, and they can decline to accept them. They are obliged to accept the state order. But an instruction was issued in a categorical form, and it is being fulfilled: Not a single norm for the period of the 5-year plan will be altered, not a single one. If you don't want to produce the goods, then don't produce them. It will be hard for the state, some things we will not receive, and somewhere disproportions will arise. But think for yourselves, think for yourselves about how you are going to live. And as for what happened to my former works: When it initiated the practice of not accepting orders and then exceeded them by R11 million that is precisely-...[changes thought] the fact is that when it calculated what it was going to live on, how it would pay the wages and what housing it would build, it came somewhat to its senses. Therefore, we are pursuing a clear policy here, and the ministers must understand: if a collective doesn't accept orders, let it not accept them, but you don't have the right to alter the norms; and if any of you do alter the norms, you'll bear the responsibility for it, as they say. We're not going to adjust the norms to suit poor work or a reluctance to work hard. We can't do it. But for contracts—this is what Aleksandra Pavlona was saying—for consumer goods, I ask you, comrades: we must learn from this year, and we must have, we must conclude this whole campaign for contracts for consumer goods. Evidently, the work must be concluded in October. It must be concluded, and I ask ministers and chairmen of councils of ministers to devote particular attention to this matter. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] Other fundamental matters in the development of the country's economy in the current year and the immediate future were also examined in Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's major speech:

[Begin recording] We must approach the solution of the tasks facing the government, especially this year and especially next year, from the standpoint of the September plenum. You know that reform of the political system, the release of party organs from fulfilling economic functions which are not an inherent part of their job and the strengthening of the role of the soviets of people's deputies are beginning today. And therefore, in this situation the role and responsibility of executive organs—that is to say, the councils of ministers of the USSR and the republics and the oblast executive committees—is also growing, and their responsibilty is increasing at the same time.

So I submit the following proposal. Taking into account the fact that, as you well know, proposals for amendments to the USSR Constitution are currently being drawn up—they are to be published in the press in the next few days—I submit the following proposal. Perhaps we should set up a special group of specialists who could do some work on considering again all the functions of our country's executive bodies, starting with the USSR Council of Ministers, as applicable to the political reform. What are we to do, how are we to change our work, what is our new work to consist of? All this must be formulated on a practical plane. And perhaps they could work for a month or 2, and at the start of the year

the USSR Council of Ministers could be specially convened and we could discuss the matter in detail and adopt certain decisions. How would you support this? [audience shouts: "we support it!] You support it? Then, with your permission, we shall include a draft decision [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] A discussion of the second, and what one might call central issue on the agenda began with an introduction by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] I would like to remind you that exactly 1 year ago a conference was held at the party Central committee which made a very critical assessment of the state of the processing industry in the agro-industrial complex. As a result of this conference, a very substantial Central Committee and government decision was drawn up which outlined a program for the development of the processing industry for a 7- or even 8-year period, from 1988 to 1995. Our assessment is that we did not have a program of this sort before; we had individual decisions and programs to tackle individual issues in the agro-industrial complex: individual programs for the meat and dairy industry, for instance, and for some other sectors. However, this is perhaps the first time that a comprehensive program of this sort, embracing practically the entire spectrum of the processing industry, has been drawn up. To give you an idea of the scale of this problem, I would like to say that over these 7-8 years, the processing industry of the agro- industrial complex is to have R77 billion invested in it. Seventy-seven billion! You can work it out for yourselves. More than half this amount will be spent on equipment. We estimate that merely through retooling the processing industry we should obtain R40 billion of food produce in this period. Is that or is it not a lot? It is 25 percent. These are not coincidental figures. If we examine how much we currently are losing from field to shop counter, as they say, it turns out that we lose 25-30 percent of agricultural produce. Our task is to reduce these losses to a minimum. We realize that we need growth in agricultural output, and there will be growth. All organizational, political, and economic efforts are geared to that end, but first and foremost we nevertheless must care in utilizing what we have grown. There is perhaps no other country in the world that adopts so thriftless an attitude to its harvests as we do.

We have disbanded the Ministry of Machine-building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances. The ministry that functioned under this name brought no benefit. On the contrary, it produced instability and uncertainty. That is why the government proposal on this was backed and the ministry was disbanded. We handed all these enterprises over to the country's defense complex. We hope that this mighty complex, which commands an enormous scientific, technical, and production potential can and must cope with this problem. In order to discuss this question more substantively—and it is a very acute question—I appeal to you, comrades, to discuss it without any avoidance of thorny problems—to borrow a phrase—and in a proper fashion, to reveal the good points if there are any, and most importantly, to say where we are not doing enough. We are grateful to our television, which has responded to the government's request to show several programs in advance of this conference. I refer to "Spotlight on Restructuring ". I think they gave people an opportunity to see for themselves what is being done in our country, what positive tendencies are under way, and what thus far has not fallen into place straight off, as the saying goes. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] Next to speak was Igor Sergeyevich Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Begin Belousov recording] Comrades, let me just cite what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had to say at the Central Committee conference on 12 October of this year. There are several key problems without the solution of which we will not get things going in the agrarian sector. Among these problems, Mikhail Sergeyevich named the processing, storage, and transportation of agricultural produce.

[Belousov recording continues] Mikhail Sergeyevich observed that if today we were processing everything that is produced by collective and state farms, if we were taking it, gathering it in, transporting it, storing and processing it, delivering it to the shop counter, to the consumer, then we would have an additional amount equivalent to a minimum of 25 percent immediately. In certain categories it would be all of 40 percent. For these purposes the party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers have made a decision to build 29,000 facilities of various kinds for processing in the agroindustrial complex by the year 1995 and to refurbish 38,000 of them including existing agroindustrial processing facilities—Nikolay Ivanovich has already mentioned this and has given a whole series of the most important figures: During this period the volume [not further specified] in the agroindustrial complex is due to increase from 138,000 million roubles to 188,000 million roubles in 1995. But of course all this is going to require the output of equipment for processing agricultural produce to be increased by a factor of many times. One has to be blunt about it, the level of the equipment for processing today is extremely low. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] It is not just a question of the quantity of equipment, Comrade Belousov stressed, but also of its quality. We have to bring about a situation in which at least 90 percent of the 4,500 models of new equipment which are due to be developed are on par with the best in the world. The report contained a careful analysis of progress in fulfilling the program for the development of processing sectors of the agroindustrial complex and of ways of implementing radical change toward solving this

problem. Industries and their leaders responsible for the shortcomings that had been exposed were named directly and specific measures were put forward for overcoming them.

[Begin recording] [Belousov] The tasks that have been set in the Central Committee's decision are not ordinary ones and their fulfilment has to be conducted as one of the most crucial and greatest tasks which the country has ever faced. Two thoughts about prices: Undoubtedly there is a question, and concern is rightly being shown locally, and primarily in places where the farms are small, the organizations are small and the processing enterprises small. Serious rises in prices have taken place. What measures have been taken, Nikolay Ivanovich? We have made a decision...

[Ryzhkov interrupting] In what way was this able to happen, Igor Sergeyevich? Excuse me. How could this happen at all? What is happening here? Is everything moving along without any supervision in the country? It's a good thing that you've put forth this question now—the prices question: just look. I'd like to put it to you: A filter press made by the Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry used to cost 900 rubles—that filter press now costs 5,600 rubles, in other words a sixfold increase, while its productivity has doubled. And again, look, I've got a whole list of them here, a meatgrinding machine—4,200 rubles the old price, now the price is 200,000 rubles an increase of 48 times in price, of 2.9 times in productivity. And so on and so forth. Your enterprises are twisting the consumers around their little fingers, are they not?

[Belousov] Yes, Nikolay Ivanovich, your observations are absolutely correct on the prices issue and I do indeed report the measures that have been adopted by us in this matter. A decision was signed on 1 September and for 2 months the ministries of the defence sectors of industry, the State Committee for Prices and the State Agroindustrial Committee have been analyzing these facts and examples—not examples, but a list of price deviations. We will examine the whole of this analysis and in cases where these things have not been done correctly we are going to take some very serious and severe measures against those who have allowed it to happen. But in places where it is linked with an increase in productivity of the machines or with an increase in their service life or the use of new materials, in other words with quality, in those cases it will be necessary to pay for what it costs. We are going to sort this question out. I am certain that we are capable of sorting this question out.

[Ryzhkov] Comrades, I didn't mention in my opening remarks that in addition to the ministers who are obliged by their status to be present at such sessions we have invited to today's Council of Ministers session a number of directors of enterprises which produce equipment and which use that equipment. Therefore, I think that we must, as it were, listen to them as attentively as possible, so that we might have information from primary sources. Therefore, we have many comrades registered, and we should also like to listen to some ministers; but, nonetheless, let us begin all the same with those whom we have invited. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] The floor was offered to (Yevgeniy Sergeyevich Rychin), general director of the Moskva agroindustrial combine. Comrade (Rychin) spoke about the shortage of cadres and even the simplest equipment and about overcoming bureaucratic sluggishness in solving tasks which have come to the fore. Then (Vladimir Yakovlevich Panichev), director of the Lysino confectionery and bakery combine in Moscow, spoke. He talked about the state of affairs in the baking industry, where the proportion of work by hand is still extremely high and where the lag in modern technical standards can be particularly keenly felt.

The speech by Sergey Iosifovich Manyakin, chairman of the USSR Committee of People's Control, was sharply critical:

[Begin Manyakin recording] Nikolay Ivanovich, you said in your opening remarks that 20 to 30 percent of the production of fields and livestock farming units is lost. That is correct. I want to raise one point: meat. Each year, between the stage of processing—that is to say, from the meat combine's gate—and storage and when it reaches the shop and is sold, around 1 million tonnes of meat are lost in the country each year at the cold-storage meat combine. Not in livestock, but in meat which is already prepared. Do you understand? Now, four republics telephoned last night that hundreds of thousands of head of livestock, Nikolay Ivanovich, are waiting outside meat combines. Hundreds of thousands of head of livestock, already fattened up and heavy, are standing in lines at meat combines, but they are not being accepted. The slaughter of livestock goes on in a strictly measured manner, only in the quantities permitted by cold-storage capacity. The refrigerator industry has got meat-processing by the throat. We have 2.5 million tonnes of meat going into our Union stock. We are losing one million. What further arguments do we need? [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] Comrade Manyakin reported to the Council of Ministers on the results of checks carried out by officials of the People's Control Committee in connection with the matter under discussion and warned managers of the industry and of enterprises about their personal responsiblity for the state of affairs.

The speech by Vyacheslav Ivanovich Chernoivanov, a deputy chairman of the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee, was devoted primarily to how questions of coordinating output of new equipment are being solved.

[Begin Ryzhkov Recording] Comrade Chernoivanov, you have talked a lot here, asking questions. It's always best to be firing questions at somebody else instead of answering them yourself. You know, the masses of material which we have received on this subject show

that the defense industry is, of course, guilty of a lot, guilty of dealing with this matter since the new year—that is to say, many months have been spent on shaking things up, many months have been spent on changing the psychology of the workers, the directors, the directors of institutes, and so on, to the effect that they must themselves get down to work properly and not simply inherit this work and wait for it to pick up. They do have shortcomings, but we are convinced that they will cope, all the same: they have the potential, and they have the level of organization. Don't you forget: it's the defense complex, and it will get going. But do I see any level of organization at your place, the State Agroindustrial Committee? No! [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] (Viktor Georgiyevicvh Lifanov), director of the Plavsk (Smychko) machine-building works, talked about the problems confronting his enterprise.

Lev Dmitriyevich Ryabev, USSR minister of medium machine-building, took the podium. He said, in particular:

[Begin recording] [Ryabev] We have gone further than was laid down by the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers on increasing production of equipment. We have undertaken the task of the comprehensive technological planning of all systems.

We have taken upon ourselves the task of providing technical servicing for all systems and we are now setting up centers of that kind. We have taken upon ourselves the task of assembling equipment, of adjusting it prior to commissioning and of handing over equipment in turnkey condition. We will be engaged in this from 1989 because hitherto all of this was uncoordinated, things were not supplied in complete sets, things were not worked through in succession and naturally there were considerable complaints and costs in production.

As far as small works are concerned we believe that this is one of the main directions in our activity. I went to Bulgaria recently and I looked at a plant in operation that was processing five tonnes of milk per 24 hours. It was a very compact plant and we are willing to produce plants of that kind. But I would like here to get a more precise idea of the volume of orders from the State Agroindustrial Committee. At the beginning of September, regarding cheesemaking plants, we got a request for 1989 signed by the leadership of the State Agroindustrial Committee fo 810 complete sets of equipment for cheesemaking systems capable of handling up to 300 kilograms per 24 hours. Two weeks later came a request for 2,300 systems of the same productivity—2,300.

[Ryzhkov] For 10 and for 2,300?

[Ryabev] For 10 sets and for 2,300 sets signed by the same leader. And of course now we are somewhat bewildered. I consider that to start with—we are naming figures—we are prepared to supply 500 sets of small-scale cheesemaking systems in 1989. If this is acceptable to the State Agroindustrial Committee I have asked for details about the reference points and places and we will carry out this work without delay. And from 1990 onwards we will achieve even larger figures.

[Ryzhkov] This is for complete sets of equipment, isn't it?

[Ryabev] This is for complete sets of equipment. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] Comrade Ryabev then described the ways in which the industry he heads is solving the most complex technical and organizational tasks in connection with the manufacture of equipment for the processing industry of the agroindustrial complex. And Apollon Sergeyevich Systsov, minister of the Aviation Industry of the USSR, gave an account of his ministry's contribution to this matter. During discussion of the question of creating modern Soviet- made macaroni production lines he promised to deliver the first of these next year.

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] There has to be a guarantee that we are going to get a production line and not scrap metal.

[Systsov] Nikolay Ivanovich, in front of the Council of Ministers and in front of central television I guarantee it.

[Ryzhkov] Very well.

[Systsov] This is serious. In front of the whole country.

[Unidentified speaker] The first will be there in 1989.

[Ryzhkov] We should invite television to the Council of Ministers more often, perhaps things would then go a little better. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] The problem of setting up small-scale enterprises for processing agricultural produce where it is produced cropped up during the speech by (Vyacheslav Alekseyevich Lomachinskiy), director general of the all- union scientific production association of the canning industry.

[Begin recording] [(Lomachinskiy)] On collective and state farms today—and not only there, even at some of our canning enterprises in remote places—there are no really capable specialists. So what do we have to give to the collective or state farm or to the group of farms, so to speak, which want to set up a processing venture? They have to be given a ready made plan, ready made turnkey fabrications—a small system or a workshop—5 million, 1, 2 and 3 million—together with a modular boiler plant, modular cleansing plant. Over 1 or 2 years it has to be commissioned and ready for work: If the people are trained they'll do the work. But the way we put these

workshops together—one provides the rolling machine, another provides the washery, another a fifth thing, another a tenth, it will not be production. Once again it will be (?confusion.)

[Ryzhkov] Comrade Ryabev is moving along precisely the same way. He is creating turkey systems for processing milk, supplying as well as creating [words indistinct].

[Lomachinskiy] That is quite right.

[Ryzhkov] I think that this idea that he's expressing is a correct one. If those works which are making equipment for the canning industry were to supply certain modules - and we manufacture standard modules—we could do this very rapidly, we could set it up quickly in any collective farm, state farm or small farm.

[Lomachinskiy] The small plant programs are very necessary. Without them we shall not achieve the figure of 20 billion cans in 1995 and there will still be losses, there will still be problems, because a lot of major and complicated problems have to be solved for major works linked with cleansing facilities, boilers, steam and energy- intensive production. Building the works is not enough: All these problems have to be resolved.

[Ryzhkov] Comrades, I believe that we have had a principled and businesslike discussion here today. This discussion is a necessary one which takes into account the acuteness of the issue of providing food to the population. I do not want to repeat myself yet again, but we are deeply convinced that if in the very near future we do not move this question in our country. There has been some dreadful neglect over this matter. But Comrade Belousov has presented his report and I can say from the materials that we have at our disposal that 60 percent of the equipment at our processing enterprises is virtualy worn out—60 percent—and only 40 percent is equipment with which it is possible to work.

Every year we replace five percent of the equipment. How many years are we going to need, then, to replace it all? If we do not make some serious move forward now we are going to have to spend 20 years changing this equipment: Of course we will not be in a position to develop the country's agroindustrial complex further in a proper way. Today we cannot satisfactorily assess the state of affairs that has arisen primarily in the defense complex as well as in civilian machinebuilding. We especially included one report today, by Comrade Belousov, who to some extent shed light on the situation in civilian machinebuilding, but we are deeply convinced that what has been done with regard to transferring enterprises, institutes, and design bureaus from the former Ministry of Machinebuilding for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances to the defense industries has been done correctly and we do have confidence that in a year or two we will begin to get the equipment.

The only thing we are not satisfied with is that things are moving very slowly here, very slowly. Igor Sergeyevich, time has been lost. Time has been wasted on organizational issues. While you were dividing up the factories, while ministers, as they say, were sizing them up, getting used to them, travelling to visit these works, determining their structures and to whom they should be subordinated and so on, time was marching on, it was marching on inexorably. Today we do not have the time to spend years solving these questions. Only in September, say, you decided which would be the head enterprises. Of course time has been wasted. I think that if there is anyone in the defense industries or among the works people; that is to say, the managers of the works and associations, and especially the design bureaus—if there is anyone who has not yet realized that he is going to have to deal with this question, then I think he is making a big mistake and life will put him right. We cannot express satisfaction with the work of the agro-industrial complex on this issue; I understand there has been a great deal of criticism of the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee recently. The whole system has been under criticism, and evidently there are grounds for the criticism. I wouldn't like to add criticism on top of that wave, but when you look at the material, Comrades, and when you see the extent to which there is a lack of seriousness in the approach of the comrades to these questions—the system has not been worked through. Yet the State Agro-industrial Committee has institutes. To give you some idea, there are more than 900 institutes in the system of the State Agro-industrial Committee, in the system—that is to say from the union state agro-industrial committee, Vaskhnil, the agricultural academy, down to the lowest level.

[Maslyukov] The volume of scientific work is 400 million rubles.

[Ryzhkov] 400 million?

[Maslyukov] Annually.

[Ryzhkov] Comrade Maslyukov is giving me details: 400 million rubles is financed from the science budget of the State Agro-industrial Committee. Can we not then ultimately ask that they—after all, Chernoivanov is not the only one sitting there, and there and dozens and hundreds of institutes determining technical policy—provide the tasks, look at the technology, and so on. In general we are not satisfied on this issue. I think, in view of today's discussion, we should prepare a very serious draft decision. I think the draft that has been prepared here should be the subject of further major work. I think it's half-baked and doesn't accord with the spirit of our discussion. There is one question of principle that must be discussed by us collectively.

We rarely resort to such measures, but on this occasion a proposal is being put forward to punish three leaders: Comrade Chernoivanov should receive a reprimand from the Council of Ministers; Comrade Zaychenko,

deputy chairman of the State Agro-industrial Committee, who also has a lot of omissions in these questions, particularly where cold-storage is concerned, should receive a reprimand; and Comrade (Kirichenko), deputy minister of the Ministry of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building, should receive a reprimand. What do people think? Please go ahead, Ivan Stepanovich.

[Silayev] Nikolay Ivanovich, I would like to say a few words in defense of Comrade Chernoivanov. Of course he has rightly been criticized today, but he carried out this colossal work—it was headed by Comrade Chernoivanov and today we have the documents—and it seems to me that there are grounds for proposing that his punishment be mitigated, that it be pointed out to him in strict terms. I think he will draw the right conclusions.

[Ryzhkov] Yes. Please go ahead.

[Unidentified speaker] I would also ask today that we not punish—perhaps we should indeed point things out in strict terms—but that we not deliver a reprimand today to either Comrade Chernoivanov or Comrade Zaychenko. Indeed we have had a very great deal to do in such a short period of time in working out our entire system; never before was there such a system. Everything had to be turned around, all the documentation: it had to be issued and prepared, and I think that in this situation we should simply present an opportunity for more work to be done.

[Unidentified speaker] I had an opportunity to talk to Comrade Chernoivanov today, and I would like to say that he is a very responsible person. The fact that he was unable to strengthen his department organizationally and set it up sufficiently rapidly is another matter. This should be pointed out to him, and the question of punishing him should be looked at once again when next examined. But I would propose that we not punish him now.

[Ryzhkov] What opinions are there?

[Unidentified speaker] On the year's results, Nikolay Ivanovich.

[Ryzhkov] On the year's results?

[Unidentified speaker] Yes.

[Ryzhkov] Alright. It is not our task to break people's bones, is it, but to make people understand, to make leaders understand that it is time for serious conclusions to be drawn. Perhaps—taking into account the view of the Presidium and the requests by the leadership of the State Agro-Industrial Committee—we ought to adopt the following kind of decision, saying that these three leaders merit serious sanction, as they say, but with due regard for the fact that measures are being taken and so on, let's trust them, as they say, and not punish them today. [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] Discussion of the third item on the agenda began with a statement by Vasiliy Aleksandrovich Shamshin, USSR minister of communications. He informed those taking part in the session of the scale of the newspaper and magazine industry in our country, the traditions that have come into being in the organization and operation of periodical subscriptions, and difficulties in operating them this year when an acute shortage has arisen.

[Begin Shamshin recording] It has to be stated directly that, as is the case with any shortage, this has caused negative manifestations in a number of places, and over the past 2 and ½ months it has been necessary urgently to correct the situation together with party and local soviet bodies. According to subscriptions for January to August, the government, as a matter of urgency, has sought out nearly 100,000 tonnes of additional paper to increase newspaper and magazine printruns.

This has already provided publishing houses with the possibility of increasing the printruns of the weeklies SEMYA by 250,000 and ARGUMENTY I FAKTY by 500,000, and to provide printruns for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, TRUD, EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, and a number of others which have already enabled free subscriptions for them to be opened. Having searched out additional graphics capacities, the publishing houses have confirmed an increase in printruns for another whole series of publications, which allows us now to remove subscription restrictions for nearly all central newspapers and journals. I think that the councils of ministers of the republics—the chairmen are present here—will find the same possibilities with their own publications, although the situation is considerably more favorable there; there are just isolated cases in individual republics, they've just applied restrictions to subscriptions for, literally, only five publications throughout all the republics. The communications organs will extend acceptance of subscriptions to 15 November. Additional work places will be organized at the communications enterprises, and the working hours of all enterprises taking subscriptions will be prolonged.

We are opening subscriptions for 1990 in January next year, 1989, for all newspapers and sociopolitical and literary-artistic journals. But we ask the Council of Ministers to instruct the Bureau for Social Development to elaborate measures for speeding up the resolution of the matters provided for in the resolution I referred to, to bring closer the time when the needs of the population will be satisfied in full. We had the year 2000 written down, Nikolay Ivanovich, but it is now already clear that resources have developed in such a way that, I think, we can already approach, in practice, the full satisfaction as early as 1990-1991, not only in newspapers, but also in the bulk of journals.

We have to provide printruns as large as is required by the people, you understand? [end recording]

[Voznesenskiy] The considerations voiced by Comrade Shamshin were supported and developed by Mikhail Fedorovich Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; Vladimir Kuzimich Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers bureau for the chemical and timber complex; and Aleksandr Semenovich Kapto, head of the CPSU CC Ideology Department. The comrades spoke of the lessons of this year's subscriptions and the need to elaborate a more modern system for supplying the population with periodicals, and the possibilities for making fuller use of the graphic base and paper resources.

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] Comrades, we have raised this question specially today for discussion by the Council of Ministers because you feel that in the recent period polemics surrounding this matter have opened stormily in the press and mass media organs. To be quite frank, people have every reason to be dissatisfied with the state that has taken shape in this matter.

What has happened? What has happened? Well, I agree with Comrade Kapto, head of the Ideological Department of the party's Central Committee, who spoke before me, that we were simply unprepared for the social and political changes in the consciousness of people that we have today. We were simply unprepared.

When we began to examine the whole system as we prepared to discuss this question at the Council of Ministers we noticed how confused everything appeared to be, how obsolete all of this had become. Even a brief exchange of opinions shows it: Can one go on doing things in that way? One person deals with the paper, another fixes the restrictions, someone else deals with the subscriptions, and in the final analysis there is no one single entity here.

Unfortunately, therefore, we are falling behind life here, life is running ahead of us, and once again with our specific measures we are trying to catch up with life. I think that we have to draw some conclusions, comrades. Of course, we must not overdramatize things, we must encourage the activeness that we have, as they say, and we must draw conclusions positively. But just look: The newspapers, the central newspapers, have seen subscriptions rise 23 percent across the country as a whole: large journals, publishing fiction, have increased 20 percent in just one year. An increase of a fifth or a quarter!

This has to be encouraged, comrades, the fact that people are so active and so interested. It is not simply that someone is making them take out subscriptions: It is because the atmosphere and the social and political life in the country today are like that and it has motivated people to get more information, reading has become interesting. We feel this ourselves. We simply do not have enough time to read all the interesting things that come out.

Consequently, we ought to draw some very serious conclusions and act in such a way that this positive process in our social life is backed up by our organizational measures. I think it is worth listening to the opinion of Comrade Nenashev with regard to departmental magazines. Two or three weeks ago I was given information; not about every ministry, of course, but I'll tell you this: Over dozens of years we have brought forth so many journals. I'm not against our having journals, against people reading them and writing for them, but there must be some sense in this business.

You look and you see that a ministry has six or eight journals. Does it need them? Each one with a print run of 5,000 to 10,000. All of this is distributed by compulsion—I know how they make them buy them, with public money, in the works. You think that there's someone there buying them for cash? These journals are bought with the money of the labor collective. Perhaps we should look and see whether some of these journals should be removed, whether editorial departments should be combined, which would allow these topics to be covered. We can release these printing capacities and release our paper resources and so on.

I think it's worth our while to think it through. Such a request was made to the social questions bureau, Aleksandra Pavlovna. Obviously you must look at this carefully: If you have to, bring in all the complexes, they will have a look, and I think we ought to make an appropriate decision over a 2-month period.

I would ask the ministers to please find out, today or the first thing tomorrow morning, to ask: How many journals do you have? I don't think that all of you know how many journals you have. Go and ask how many journals you have, what are the printruns, how they are all distributed. And be prepared for the fact that in a couple of weeks discussions are going to be held. And you must find out exactly what the situation is. I know they'll tell you that without that journal it will be impossible, scientific and technical progress in our country will collapse, and so on and so forth. We know the kind of props you'll encounter, so you decide for yourselves. Where it is necessary, by all means publish. Where there's no need, then clearly we have to save our resources.

I think it's worth supporting an issue which was also brought up by Comrade Nenashev, and it would obviously not be right not to discuss it more deeply. I have the following proposal: Although we have been given information by Vladimir Kuzmich with regard to the development of the production of paper for books and newspapers, I have the following proposal: In about 3 months' time, at the next session of the Council of Ministers, probably in the new year, let's hear reports from two ministers: Comrade Busygin, the minister of the Timber Industry, Comrade Velichko, minister of heavy machine building, and if necessary Comrade Nenashev, since he is in charge of these things here about

the production of paper and printing equipment. And let's listen carefully. You have 3 months. Please prepare yourselves, sort these things out, and in 3 months' time, of course, we will invite television and you'll tell us.

You know, I get the feeling that the Council of Ministers works better with television. Doesn't it? Comrades become more compliant, don't they?

So let's listen to these issues, and I think that it will be a program of action for us really to prepare for the positive manifestations that are taking place in our society.

[Unidentified speaker] Agreed.

[Ryzhkov] If there are no other observations let us formulate these decisions like that. With this I close this session of the Council of Ministers. I thank all comrades for their active participation. [end recording]

Paper Reports Nuclear Accident After 10 Years

AU2110170088 Paris AFP in English 1651 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, Oct 21 (AFP)—Ten years after the event, a Soviet newspaper has disclosed there was a serious accident in a nuclear power plant that could have turned into a second Chernobyl.

A militia colonel identified as V. Kaminchik described in SOCIALISTiCHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA (SOCIALIST INDUSTRY) on Thursday how a fire raged though a nuclear plant at Beloyarskaya, near Sverdlovsk, 1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) east of Moscow on December 30, 1978.

The fire crippled the plant's computer, technicians had to grope through smoke to monitor control dials linked to the reactor, and 1,200 people were called in to extinguish the fire, the daily paper said.

Still, despite the damage, there was no leak of radioactivity, said Col. Kaminchik, who participated in the rescue.

Eighty rescuers were later decorated for their bravery, but the press made no mention of them or of the accident.

In a striking example of the new Soviet policy of glasnost, or openness, Col. Kaminchik was quoted as saying that it was a "moral crime to keep this accident secret." [passage omitted]

Col. Kaminchik said the fire started with a short-circuit above the generating room. Within four minutes this cut communications with the outside and all power to the building, crippled the central computer and filled the central reactor's control room with smoke.

Technicians, who had no access to gas masks, had to dive into the room for a few seconds at a time to monitor the control dials, according to the report. Several were overcome by smoke and lost consciousness. Others were able to activate the reactors' security bars and avert a catastrophe.

Firefighters, hampered by minus 47 degrees Celsius temperatures (minus 53 Fahrenheit) that froze their foam, saw the temperature inside the building rise to 80 degrees Celsius (176 degrees Fahrenheit) and cause the collapse of the building's steel girders over one of the steam-fed generators.

Col. Kaminchik stressed that the security system had not worked and that employees had no oxygen or gas masks. New safety rules were instituted after the accident, he said.

TASS Carries Report

LD2110183288 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—The valor of hundreds of fire-fighters and staff at a nuclear power station near a major industrial city in the Urals averted a tragedy there on the eve of 1979 when a blaze broke out in a reaction building, causing the roof to collapse, a Soviet newspaper reported today.

The daily SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA said the fire at the Beloyarskaya facility outside Sverdlovsk was started by a short circuit which ignited the insultation of a power cable.

As the blasting fire spread to the reactor room, the metal girders and the ferro-concrete roof caved in, leaving a gaping hole over generating unit No 2.

Worse developments, however, were prevented by the station's personnel and fire-fighters, who were able to put the blaze out.

Nuclear safety at the station during the fire and after it was ensured completely by control rods having been lowered in time. Reactors No 1 and 2 were kept stably in a subcritical operating mode.

More than 1,200 people took part in fighting the fire. Forty of them were later decorated with orders and other distinctions and another forty-four with the "For Valor in Fighting a Fire" medal.

Nothing of that, however, went reported in the press at the time, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA noted.

National seminars of nuclear plant personnel and fire-fighters were called after the accident, as were exercises on how to prevent and quench fires at nuclear power facilities.

A number of new fire safety standards were adopted and new fire-warning and fire-fighting systems were phased in. Firemen's units responsible for protecting nuclear power projects were substantially enlarged.

It is possible that all those measures years later helped the Chernobyl fire-fighters quickly to cope with the blaze that followed the explosion at their facility.

"Yet one is nagged by a recurring thought: "Why didn't they tell people publicly about those who'd saved the Beloyarskaya station from a tragedy and about the lessons of the accident?

"If they had done that, maybe the Chernobyl events would not have taken place at all?" the paper said.

Latvian Minister Revokes Order on Subscriptions

LD2510121388 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Riga October 25 TASS—TASS correspondent Lyudmila Shvarts reports:

The indignation of readers of Latvian newspapers and magazines manifested itself in a stream of telegrams, telephone calls and letters from almost all over the Soviet Union: Why were eight most popular publications of Soviet Latvia closed to subscribers outside the republic?

Many people expressed apprehensions whether that signified an assault on the policy of glasnost.

It turned out that it was not: It was a mere administrative willfulness. An order to limit subscription turned out to be a personal initiative of Osvald Stungrevits, Latvian minister of communications, who, it transpired, was concerned with maintaining the retail sale of the popular publications in the republic at a sufficient level in the conditions of paper shortage.

An impartial evaluation of such actions of the minister was given by Latvian newspapers. The situation became the subject of discussion at various meetings. In result, the minister acknowledged his error and revoked his order. One may now subscribe to Latvia's most popular publication in any city of the Soviet Union again.

Further Press Reportage on Ukrainian Plenum

Shcherbitskiy 10 Oct Address

AU2310060188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 11 Oct 88 pp 1-3

[Report delivered by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, at the 10 October plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee "On the work performed in the republic to implement the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the July and the September (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenums"]

[Text] Comrades: The decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and of the July and the September (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenums have given the entire restructuring work a new powerful impulse.

Having drawn up a concrete program for action, the conference confirmed once again that the party has firmly and consistently pursued the line of the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and of the 27th party congress. Evidence of this were also the decisions adopted by the September (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and by the USSR Supreme Soviet session. These decisions stemmed from the need to reinforce the leadership in highly important sections of party and administrative construction and to tighten control over implementing the restructuring policy along the line of both party and state organs.

The decision to elect M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, as USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman had become logical and purposeful at this present stage of perfecting the political system. This was undoubtedly in line with the supreme interests of our union state, and will contribute toward boosting the role of the CPSU as society's political vanguard and toward consolidating the prestige and efficiency of soviets.

Comrades, restructuring has made a wholesome impact not only on our society's development, but is also increasingly and positively influencing the development of world events. Based on the new political thinking, the activity of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government meets with growing support on the part of progressive forces and of all soberly thinking people. The new Soviet initiatives brought forth by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary during his visit to Krasnoyarsk Kray have concretely embodied the idea of a conference for strengthening security in the world.

Comrades: What are, therefore, the main conclusions stemming from the decisions of the party conference, of the July and the September CPSU Central Committee Plenums, and from the analysis of the work that has developed in the republic to implement these decisions?

First of all, the entire organizational and political restructuring activity has to be carried out in a most concrete and businesslike manner. Immediate tasks have to be accomplished consistently and persistently, step by step, and—what matters the most—appreciable practical results have to be achieved.

At the initial stage of restructuring, the criticism and correction of shortcomings and miscalculations lying, as they say, on the surface, as well as the drawing up of the most urgent measures to improve the situation in lagging sectors were, naturally enough, in the foreground. At present this is obviously insufficient. Restructuring must now be made more dynamic by way of accomplishing long-term tasks, by sharply improving the situation, and primarily by meeting the everyday needs of people.

Highly important for invigorating the activity of party organizations at the present stage of the intense practical restructuring work is the decision of the 30 September

1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum to form CPSU Central Committee commissions and to reorganize the CPSU Central Committee apparatus in light of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. The formation of commissions for the major issues of domestic and foreign policy is evidence of the consolidation of the leading party role in line with the decisions of the all-union party conference.

During the present accountability and election campaign, the CPSU Central Committee has obligated party committees to pay particular attention to the selection of cadres for the party apparatus, and to promote to these jobs comrades possessing high political and businesslike qualities, convinced adherents of restructuring who enjoy confidence and prestige both among the Communists and non-party members.

What we need at present is the most resolute struggle against the manifestations of complacency and idleness, of bureaucratism and indifference, of indiscipline and mismanagement, and a more thorough and critical analysis of everything accomplished by restructuring. In this regard we have to proceed from the assumption that there are specific people accountable for every shortcoming or omission and primarily leaders who must bear full responsibility for the state of affairs.

The principled assessment of the contribution made by every worker toward restructuring and the ability to find and to promote bold and resolute people capable of accomplishing qualitatively new tasks have to be regarded as inalienable features of the activity of all party organizations.

While ensuring restructuring organizationally and ideologically, it is essential to resolutely curb the attempts to discredit it, to firmly stand on the positions of realism, to vigorously engage ever new groups of society in the restructuring processes, to enhance glasnost and democratization, and to boost discipline and order. These are the immediate vital needs and the political requirements of the times.

In preparation for the present plenum, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has drafted an organizational plan to implement the directives and decisions of the party conference and of the July CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Sent to obkoms and also examined by Central Committee members, the draft plan has been positively evaluated. The more than 200 remarks and proposals, made at the same time, have enriched the draft plan with new ideas and have specified or made more concrete its theses, whose practical implementation has already been started.

We hope that, after a discussion and the approval at the plenum, the plan will prove to be a good basis for further deepening restructuring in the republic and for radically raising the role of party organizations in all spheres of public life.

Critically Assessing What Has Been Done, and Deepening Radical Economic Reform [subhead]

Comrades: Guided by the conference directives, we are obligated first of all to evaluate the initial stage of economic reform in an exacting way, to draw conclusions, and to more rapidly take the measures involved in this reform.

It is important that the difficulties in the republic's economy are being gradually overcome, and that progressive trends are consolidating. The new management methods are growing stronger. The principles of full economic accountability and self-financing have begun to produce positive results. The pace of economic development has hastened, and the effectiveness of communal production has risen. Changes for the better have become evident in the social reorientation of the economy. Conditions are being provided for collective, leasing, and family contracting, and for promoting other advanced forms of labor organization and motivation.

Since the beginning of the 5-year period, the targets for raising gross social product, the national income, and labor productivity in the national economy have been met with excess.

In 2 years and 9 months, the average annual volume of industrial production rose 4.3 percent and labor productivity 4.7 percent, or significantly more than the target set under the 5-year plan. The adoption of basic advanced technologies has accelerated, and so has the mastering of the production of new machines and equipment. The number of obsolete items withdrawn from production has more than doubled. The average annual overall agricultural production, the volumes of capital construction, and freight and passenger transportation have significantly increased.

Incomes in the national economy have exceeded the plan by R3.5 billion, or 3.7 percent.

The accelerated pace of economic growth has been facilitated by the policy adopted in the republic to save resources in every way possible. In the 3 years the amount of materials saved in production will have exceeded the plan 1.3 times. The targets set for reducing the share of material and energy consumption in the national income are being exceeded.

Positive processes have also taken place in the social sphere. The provisions of the 5-year plan for capital investments in developing and strengthening the material base of this sphere will be exceeded in the republic by R4.8 billion. As a result, the share of allocations for the social sphere in the overall volume of capital investments will almost triple and will amount in the current year to 25 percent.

All this will make it possible to put 10.5 million square meters of housing space more than planned into service, or more than 200,000 apartments, and to overfulfill the 5-year plan for the construction of schools, preschool establishments, hospitals, polyclinics, vocational and technical colleges, trade and social facilities, clubs, and houses of culture.

A good foundation has thus been laid in the first stage of the economic reform for successfully accomplishing vitally important restructuring tasks, and promoting the people's prosperity.

It must be emphasized that the most notable results have been attained wherever party committees and economic bodies restructured in earnest, wherver they were able to select and distribute cadres correctly, and to release the people's initiative. This was precisely the way people worked at the Zhdanov "Azovstal" metallurgical combine, the Kiev "Tochelektropribor", the Odessa lathe building, the Sumy M.V. Frunze, the Pervomaysk "Khimprom," and the "Prikarpatlyes" associations, at the "Zaliv" shipbuilding plant in Kerch, and in many other collectives.

Nonetheless, it must be admitted that the republic's economy continues to move along the path of extensive and for the most part costly production.

In the industry run by the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, nonproductive outlays alone have gone up 20 percent and in the first 6 months of the current year exceeded R141 million. At the enterprises of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee they have risen 2.1 times, at those of the Ministries of Local Industry and of Grain Products 1.3 times, and at those of the Ministry of the Forestry Industry 1.1 times.

In the current year the number of enterprises operating at a loss totaled 1,300, or 4 percent of the total. They are the most numerous under the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Ministries of Housing and Municipal Services, of Railroads, and of Construction. Notwithstanding the overall increase in industrial production, every fifth enterprise has cut its output compared with 1987 and is falling short of the supplies contracted for and of the plan for profits. In the 9 months of the current year production fell short of the orders by R1.2 billion, machine-building products being accountable for a half of this sum.

The republic's light industry has not fully joined in the rhythm of the 5-year period; it is falling short of the consumer's needs and market demand. The quality of many manufactured products has thus far been poor, and the 5-year targets for this index have not been met. Quality and reliability still have not become an alternative to quantity.

There are also still quite a few problems in capital construction. Since the beginning of the 5-year period, unutilized state capital investments have reached a total of R2.9 billion. Even the 9-month 1988 state order for putting production capacities into operation was only fulfilled 79 percent. In Voroshilovgrad, Donetsk, Zaporozhye, and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts the proportion of allocations for social construction in the overall volume of capital investments is below the republic's average.

As a result of the slackening of control on the part of leaders, wages have significantly increased recently at many enterprises, without there being the corresponding increase in labor productivity. This has aggravated the situation in cash circulation, which was complex even before. Delayed payments of wages have become more frequent. The program worked out by the republic's Gosplan and Ministry of Finance to improve finances in the economy is being implemented slowly and has thus far failed to make an appreciable impact on solving the problems that have accumulated.

Many shortcomings in the supply of food and consumer goods to the population and in consumer services are as serious as they used to be, and this point will be discussed later.

Consequently, we must now draw the clear conclusion: Radical changes in the republic's economy have thus far been taking place slowly, particularly if one judges them from the end result—from a real increase in the living standards of the working people.

What, then, are the main causes of this?

Having scrutinized the progress made in accomplishing radical economic reform, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo noted that we still had not managed to make full use of all elements of the new economic mechanism. Besides, since the beginning of the current year less then 50 percent of the republic's industrial enterprises have switched over to the new management conditions. In addition, some of them have not substantially improved their economic indexes. In practice the reform is frequently getting entangled in a web of various difficulties.

Many party committees still have not given up—or, in the best of cases, are slow at giving up—administrative command methods, while the others still have not mastered the methods of political leadership.

Ministries, departments, and economic organs are restructuring their work at a snail's pace.

It must be said also that the republic's government, the Council of Ministers chairman, and his deputies are slow at overcoming the difficulties of the transitional period.

This is why the measures that have been taken are not yet producing the expected results.

The republic's Gosplan, Gossnab, Ministry of Finance, and branch ministries are not adequately analyzing the progress made in economic reform, and are clearly not paying enough attention to tasks as important as structural changes in the economy, improvements in material and technical supplies, the development of direct links, and increasing the effects of financial credits. Many local soviets of people's deputies do not play to the full extent their coordinating role in solving economic problems.

As you know, the year 1989 marks the deadline for switching national economic production branches over to the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing. Therefore, the profitability of production has to be increased in the current year, and primarily by reducing costs. After all, every third enterprise has thus far been unable to earn sufficient funds for self-financing because its profitability amounted to less than 10 percent.

To improve the situation, labor collectives must make wide use of intra-enterprise economic accountability. Of course, for this purpose they have to take stock of all kinds of reserves available, and to ensure that all the personnel participate in production management. In other words, an effort must be made to seriously engage the masses in restructuring and to provide conditions for cultivating in everyone the feeling of being the master and an awareness of responsibility for the results of the entire collective. It is no secret that at many enterprises this work has not been developed in earnest.

It is also essential to intensify the efforts to cope with the obligations contracted for, and to eradicate the practices of padding and distorting accounts.

It goes without saying that planning and economic organs must provide labor collectives with the conditions necessary for their normal work on the principles of economic accountability and self-financing. In doing this, they have to proceed from the 1989 draft plan, which calls for the economy to be oriented more toward social purposes and for promoting progressive changes in the structure of communal production by increasing efficiency in all branches of the economy.

To preclude the need to adopt additional decisions on the basic problems of socioeconomic development, at the present stage of calculating indexes for the 13th 5-year period it is essential to balance these indexes carefully with all kinds of resources.

To increase the efficiency of production it is also important to accelerate scientific-technological progress.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has drawn up concrete measures for this purpose. Comrades V.G. Urchukin, V.P. Fokin, I.A. Zabrodin, and oblispolkom leaders bear personal responsibility for implementing these measures.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, ministries, departments, and oblispolkoms are also expected to put more rapidly into effect the general schedule approved by the session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet for the management of the republic's national economy.

All measures should be taken everywhere, both centrally and in the field, to find work promptly for released workers and, if necessary, to see to it that they are retrained for new jobs.

Specific instructions concerning all these matters have been set forth in the draft organizational plan for the work of the Central Committee.

Comrades: The results of restructuring are judged primarily from the real changes taking place in their everyday lives. For this reason the attention of party and administrative organs should be continuously riveted on the social sphere, which directly affects everyone's interests.

The vital social political problem—on the solution of which the progress and future of restructuring depend—lies at present in increasing production and improving food supplies to the population. The work carried out in the republic in the last 2 years has made it possible to improve food supplies to the population somewhat.

In accordance with the results of the all-union competitions to raise the output and procurements of stockbreeding produce from October 1987 to July 1988, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee have recognized as winners the Ukrainian SSR; Volyn, Zhitomir, Transcarpathian, Kiev, Lvov, and Khmelnitskiy Oblasts; and 30 rayons and 206 kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises.

However, it must be admitted that, notwithstanding the growing potential of the republic's agro-industrial complex, the rate of increasing the output of agricultural produce and improving the supplies of food to the population—particularly meat and some dairy products—is a long way from what it should be.

Early in September the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo examined the supplies of meat and milk products to the population. The analysis showed that, because of the shortcomings in organizational work by Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, Odessa, and Kharkov Obkoms, Oblispolkoms, and oblast agro-industrial committees, the oblasts fell short of the 1988 targets for increasing meat procurement, and as a result the per capita meat consumption in towns declined.

Comrades Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, I.A. Mozgovoy, and Yu.A. Kolomiyets, directly responsible for the production and distribution of resources, have not displayed the appropriate initiative and persistence in accomplishing these vitally important tasks.

The decision was adopted to form a special commission to deal on a continuous basis with problems concerning improvements in food supplies, to check into the implementation of the adopted decisions, and to settle current problems. Comrades V.A. Masol, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, Ye.R. Chlakov, A.S. Statinov, S.V. Litvinenko, and A.A. Sivak are members of this commission. The Central Committee Politburo regards it as advisable also to form such commissions in oblasts, towns, and rayons.

The Ukrainian Union of Consumer Societies and trade union organizations are expected to tighten workers' control over the correct distribution of food and manufactured goods in short supply.

Since the agenda provides for a special report that is to be delivered by Comrade V.A. Masol on the work performed by the republic's government to improve food supplies to the population, let me only touch upon some key problems concerning the settlement of the food problem.

The July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum fairly criticized Vinnitsa, Kirovograd, and Chernigov Oblasts for the decreased overall yields of basic crops and for the slow development of stockbreeding.

Particularly disturbing is the situation in Vinnitsa Oblast, which possesses a significant potential to intensify agricultural production. However, the oblast problems concerning improvements in food supplies are being dealt with in an unsatisfactory manner. In the last 2 years the oblast fell short of the plan for the production of meat, milk, and eggs. The milk yields per cow are 60 kilos short of the republic's average, and the oblast is in last place in the republic in the annual per capita meat consumption (257 kilos against the Ukraine's average of 357 kilos). In 1987 the oblast's per capita meat consumption was 6.4 kilos less than in 1983.

The way the obkom and the oblispolkom handle problems concerning social reform in the countryside is unsatisfactory. Almost two-thirds of the villages lack bathhouses, the roads leading to 160 villages are not paved, and gas pipelines have only been laid to 14 out of the 1,460 villages. One of the basic causes of the existing situation lies in the failure to evaluate the work in a critical manner and in the sluggishness displayed by the oblast leaders and Comrade L.L. Krivoruchko personally.

The serious shortcomings in developing agriculture and the food industry in other oblasts are also disturbing.

As you know, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers have repeatedly examined problems concerning improvements in food supplies. Concrete measures were drawn up to step up the procurement of meat, milk, and other produce. By the way, these measures were, as a rule, tested in the field. And wherever they were taken in earnest, with full responsibility, in reliance on the initiative of labor collectives, and wherever full use was made of the new management conditions and economic levers, there were clear results. For example, a stable increase has been achieved in the output of stockbreeding produce in Volyn, Zhitomir, Ternopol, Kiev, and Khmelnitskiy Oblasts.

But it must be frankly admitted that many oblasts have applied the planned measures simply in a very inadequate way.

In recent times, Odessa Oblast leaders have been repeatedly criticized for the unsatisfactory way they have handled the food problem. But the obkom and Comrade A.P. Nochevkin, obkom first secretary, have not drawn the appropriate conclusions from the criticism. The oblast's per capita meat and milk production is less than the republic's average. The supplies of this produce to the urban population from the market stocks is deteriorating. In the 9 months of the current year, the per capita meat consumption of the urban population dropped by 3.4 kilos, and that of milk by 3.2 kilos.

It is also disturbing that leaders of some oblasts have recently been displaying an obstinacy that would be better applied elsewhere in trying to improve supplies not by increasing production, but by cutting meat and milk supplies to the union republic stocks. This is not a simple misunderstanding; it is, I would say, an erroneous posture that, far from mobilizing people, induces them to take things easy, and breeds a free-ride mentality among them. In a chain reaction, such moods spread wide in the field.

What is the way to accomplish this task, which at the moment is the most complex one for the republic, and to augment meat production?

To bring the per capita meat consumption to the 73 kilos targeted for 1990, it is essential to speed up the rate of increasing meat stocks 1.5 times. This task is difficult but feasible, if we assume a new approach to the matter and make full use of the opportunities inherent in the new economic mechanism of running the economy.

First of all, it is essential to promote leasing contracts and other advanced forms of labor organization and management. In this respect, positive experience is available in the republic. This year leasing contracting has been tested and has proved to be useful at more than one-third of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Many contracted collectives are adopting the principles of leasing relations.

In getting down to business, an enterprising spirit has been displayed by the "Dnestr" agrocombine in Lvov Oblast, the "Ros" agrocombine in Kiev Oblast, the "Donbass" agrocombine in Donetsk Oblast, the "Prykordonnyk" agrofirm in Transcarpathian Oblast, the

"Zarya" agrofirm in Rovno Oblast, the "Grechikha" scientific production system in Ternopol Oblast, and others. Having adopted leasing relations, the "Leninskaya Iskra" Kolkhoz in Tysmenitskiy Rayon, Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, in the 2 years of the 5-year period, doubled labor productivity and increased production profitability from 16 to 54 percent.

At the same time leasing contracts are slowly making their way in Khmelnitskiy, Kherson, and other oblasts.

Moreover, far from increasing, some oblasts have even reduced meat production at individual holdings and subsidiary farms run by enterprises. The failure to accomplish the tasks set for the sale of young cattle and poultry to the population and for feed supply has also been accountable for this.

Collective fruit and vegetable growing still has not been properly attended to. Volyn, Kharkov, and Chernovtsy Oblasts have missed the targets for allotting land for these purposes by 46 to 85 percent. People find it hard to get feed and construction materials and to equip subsidiary holdings and gardening plots.

Oblispolkoms handle these problems very slowly and, one may say, half-heartedly.

Here is one more point. It is increasingly obvious that in their present form rayon agro-industrial associations have not justified themselves. But they have been replaced by more advanced management forms in only 46 rayons.

Unfortunately, both the obkom and the oblispolkom are patiently watching this lack of enterprise on the part of rayon agro-industrial associations. And even leaders of the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee, above all Comrades Yu.A. Kolomiyets, A.N. Tkachenko, and V.P. Sytnik, do not show the initiative and persistence that are so badly needed to fundamentally restructure production relations in the countryside.

Everyone must at long last realize that we will be able to settle the food problem only when the peasant has the opportunity to become the real master of the land.

In particular, I would like to call attention to the continuous stream of working people's complaints about stoppages in the trade, even in commodities that are in plentiful supply. In many oblasts, now and again stores do not have flour, milk, vegetable oil, fish products, and even salt for sale. In Transcarpathian, Poltava, and Kherson Oblasts, bakeries do not meet the population's needs for bread products, although their production capacities are only 70 percent engaged. People are indignant at the long waiting lines, the rude salesmen, and the inconvenient work schedules in stores and canteens.

All this is evidence that ministerial, departmental, and local soviet leaders in charge of organizing trade do not restructure, and that, in essence, they display political irresponsibility in accomplishing tasks that affect the interests of millions of people.

The Central Committee Politburo believes the republic's Council of Ministers should examine this issue and take effective measures to put trade in proper order.

Now let me say a few words about current agricultural affairs.

The grain harvest has for the most part been completed. Rather good yields have been obtained in Transcarpathian, Cherkassy, and Poltava Oblasts; the situation has improved in Crimean, Odessa, Nikolayev, and Kirovograd Oblasts. However, we have not managed to compensate for the grain arrears incurred as a result of the unfavorable weather conditions in western and some other oblasts. This is why the yields of grain—excluding corn—in the republic as a whole proved to be smaller than last year, and averaged 28.7 quintals per hectare.

The yields of corn, sunflower seeds, and sugar beets were better than last year.

The gross yields of grain are expected to come close to 48 million tonnes, with the per hectare yields averaging 30 quintals. Out of the 17.5 million tonnes of grain to be sold to the state, 15.3 million tonnes have already been delivered. The state orders have been filled by Nikolayev, Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, Zhitomir, Volyn, Kiev, Voroshilovgrad, Chernigov, and Poltava Oblasts.

On the other hand, the unsatisfactory organization of grain sales in Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, Kirovograd, and Odessa Oblasts, each expected to sell the state 200,000 to 380,000 tonnes of grain, for the most part corn, is arousing serious concern.

So that the plan can be coped with, Donetsk, Kharkov, and Cherkassy Oblasts should still sell the state 100,000 to 140,000 tonnes of corn grain.

The unsatisfactory pace of grain sales in September jeopardized the plan fulfillment. And the matter lay not as much in the limited gross yields as in the expectant positions assumed by leaders of many farms, rayons, and of some oblasts: They figured that they could strengthen the fodder base by underfulfilling the plan.

In view of the situation in this year's yields in the country, our republic should fulfill the plan for selling grain to the state without fail.

Rather good foundations have been laid for the yields expected next year. Winter crop sowing was timed well and carried out for the most part under favorable conditions.

A strained situation has emerged this year in providing the population with potatoes. According to calculations, the purchases of potatoes will fall short of the target by nearly 900,000 tonnes (or 27 percent). To motivate potato procurements, the republic's government has authorized the State Agro-Industrial Committee, the Ukrainian Union of Consumer Societies, and oblispolkoms to review the standards and to set contracted prices, and has allotted R5.6 million worth of consumer goods and 120,000 tonnes of combined fodder for barter. Special attention has to be paid to the organization of potato purchases from the population. This is one of the main tasks facing consumer societies at present.

It is highly important that we keep the yields that have already been obtained safe. After all, our losses due to the poor production quality and the inadequate repair of granaries are enormous. In 1987 they amounted to nearly 150,000 tonnes in the state trade network alone. This is equivalent to the annual needs of Kiev.

Cattle wintering is drawing nearer. Not all kolkhozes and sovkhozes are prepared for it. What matters the most at present is to procure sufficient quality feed and to use it correctly.

We are able to fully meet the needs for coarse and juicy fodder, and to meet 78 percent of needs for concentrated fodder. More than half of the corn for grain, sugar and feed beets, as well as after-harvest crops, are still in the fields. Under these conditions, it is necessary to do the utmost to store as much coarse and juicy fodder as possible. The most responsible period has now come for this. In a short time, in October and November, one-third more of the targeted amount of feed has to be stored. We are seriously disturbed by the fact that in Ivano-Frankovsk, Ternopol, Dnepropetrovsk, Khmelnitskiy, and Chernovtsy Oblasts the plan for procuring coarse and juicy feed has only been 63-66 percent fulfilled.

In the present situation, fodder has to be painstakingly prepared for feeding. However, in Donetsk, Kiev, and Voroshilovgrad Oblasts each 10th fodder kitchen or fodder shop is still not ready for the operation.

And here is the last point. To implement the Food Program, it is essential to combine the efforts of the urban and rural laborers. For this reason it is essential to advertise the initiative of Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad, Zaporozhye, Kharkov, and Kiev enterprise collectives who have undertaken to implement, along with rural laborers, concrete programs for increasing food resources, and are expanding facilities for processing and storing agricultural produce.

Comrades: Housing, as is known, ranks at present among the most important problems. To settle it, the republic consistently implements the "Housing-2000" comprehensive, special-purpose program that calls for providing each family with a separate apartment or an individual house. Its targets are: to build 1.7 million apartments in the 12th 5-year period, 1.8 million in the 13th 5-year period, and 1.9 million in the 14th 5-year period.

In this way, dwellings built during these 15 years will amount to 5.4 million apartments with a housing space totaling 338 million square meters. This is equivalent to the construction of 7 cities the size of Kiev, or 16-17 cities as big as Donetsk or Odessa.

The main responsibility for implementing this program is to be borne by local Soviet authorities. Unfortunately, this has not been realized everywhere. Thus, Ivano-Frankovsk, Kirovograd, Sumy, and Cherkassy Oblasts have fallen short of this year's targets for utilizing state capital investments and enterprise funds allocated for housing construction. Big arrears have been incurred in the construction of cooperative houses in Zhitomir, Zaporozhye, and Rovno Oblasts, and of individual houses in Sumy and Khmelnitskiy Oblasts. There are also delays in the construction of houses for disabled and old people in Crimean and Kherson Oblasts.

At previous plenums and conferences in the Central Committee headquarters, these shortcomings were indicated to leaders of many of the aforesaid oblasts. However, the progress made in eliminating them has been slow because the republic's Council of Ministers seems not to be appropriately demanding with regard to the accomplishment of this vitally important task.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has the right to call Communist leaders who are engaged in local soviets and who lead construction organizations to strict account for this.

The successful settlement of the housing problem and the accomplishment of the tasks set for capital construction as a whole directly depend on the rapid development of its production base. This has been said repeatedly. But in a number of oblasts, particularly in Voroshilovgrad, Donetsk, Zaporozhye, and Odessa Oblasts, people are complacent for inexplicable reasons, and attend to this important matter very inadequately. This may jeopardize the plans for socioeconomic development.

The republic has worked out and approved a program calling on regions to provide themselves with local construction materials. The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, Gosplan, and oblispolkoms are expected to strictly monitor the timely implementation of this program.

Particular attention is to be paid to the implementation of the comprehensive program worked out in the republic for the social development of the countryside.

We must not tolerate the fact that in a number of oblasts, particularly in Vinnitsa, Khmelnitskiy, and Chernigov Oblasts, per capita housing space in the countryside is 50 percent smaller than that in towns.

It is essential to radically change attitudes toward the social development of small villages and farmsteads. In those localities, production activity has now been brought practically to a standstill. But after all, small villages are very suitable for contract leasing.

Actually every 10th villager works at present in the town. Yet employer enterprises do not spend even one single ruble on the construction of houses or social and cultural facilities in the localities in which their workers live. This point is worth pondering. After all, it was not mere chance that in the last 2 years the number of families waiting for state and cooperative dwellings increased each year by 100,000, or practically by the number of migrating village inhabitants.

In taking account of the political significance of social problems in the countryside, the Politburo will examine this issue this year in order to present it for examination at a Central Committee plenum in the first quarter of the coming year. Comrades V.A. Masol, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, and V.P. Fokin have been commissioned to bring forth concrete proposals on this.

Comrades: In many respects the consumers market may be regarded as an index of our work efficiency. The present conditions are rather complex. Notwithstanding the measures taken by the Central Committee and the republic's government, the population's solvent demand for commodities and services has not been met, and the gap between the demand and the supply tends to grow wider; this year it will surpass R6 billion.

To a large extent, it can be explained by the habit rooted in the republic's Gosplan, ministries, and departments to underestimate the socioeconomic and political significance of the production of consumer goods. For a number of years, allocations for light, local, forestry, and wood processing branches have slightly exceeded 3 percent of capital investments in the development of industry, although these branches are accountable for 12 percent of the total volume of industrial production and for the production of half of non-food commodities.

Local administrative authorities seem to lack appropriate interest and initiative both in meeting the constantly growing needs of the population and in balancing cash incomes with expenditures.

In 1987, the operating light industry enterprises alone, because of understaffing, fell short of the production target by R500 million worth of commodities. And this implies not only losses in commodity production, but also cuts in revenues in local budgets.

In many oblasts, groundless timidity is evident in accomplishing a task as topical as switching enterprises over to the production of consumer goods which meet with demand. According to the Ukrainian Gosplan's estimates, 52 enterprises of this kind, located in Dnepropetrovsk, Odessa, Kherson, and other oblasts, would be able to produce annually goods worth R700-750 million.

It would also be feasible to increase the annual production of high-quality commodities at the group "A" enterprises a minimum of 10-12 percent.

To improve the situation radically, party and administrative organs along with labor collective councils must purposefully organize the production of necessities literally at every enterprise. This has to be done quickly, primarily by updating production, by creating specialized sectors and shops, and by widely developing cooperatives for commodity production. After all, in the current year we have managed to find the resources and capacities to produce above-plan consumer goods worth R1.9 billion.

In short, everything depends on initiative and enterprise and these are scarce in many offices, including the Ukrainian Council of Ministers Presidium.

As far as the development of payable services is concerned, the task is to expand the variety of services and to ensure in this way that their annual increase exceeds the programmed targets by 15-20 percent, and that by 1995 they reach the level envisaged for the year 2000.

Not a single ministry or department, not a single local soviet or enterprise, regardless of its sort of activity should keep aloof from the settlement of these vitally important problems. For this purpose we have to make full use of the vast potential of the cooperative movement consolidated by the recent USSR law "On Cooperation in the USSR."

It is to be pointed out that the population's interest in creating new kinds of cooperative societies tends to increase. In the first half of the current year, the number of these societies in the spheres of production and of services trebled and has exceeded 5,000. It is estimated that by the end of the year there will be about 14,000 cooperatives in the republic with close to 200,000 personnel. The value of goods and services rendered by cooperatives will reach R400-450 million.

But this is still far below the existing potential. The cause lies in the fact that many local soviets and economic leaders do not create the conditions that are necessary for the wide development of cooperatives. Comrade G.V. Dzis, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman in charge of this important matter, does his job badly.

Rural consumer societies are an important component in the cooperative movement. In the current year, 209 rural consumer societies have been restored, and 833 procurement and production cells of a new type have been created. But this is obviously insufficient. Comrade S.V. Litvinenko, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies, and oblispolkom chairmen must resolutely get rid of conservatism and change their attitude on this important matter.

Concrete ways to accomplish tasks directly involving the satisfaction of the population's vital needs have been traced by the CPSU Central Committee and government in the decisions to implement the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. These decisions have also been properly reflected in the draft organizational plan submitted by the Central Committee.

On the Work Carried Out To Restructure the Activity of Party Organs and To Boost the Role of the Soviets of People's Deputies, and on Other Practical Measures Taken To Reform the Political System [subhead]

Comrades: In conformity with the party conference resolutions "On the Democratization of Soviet Society and the Reform of the Political System" and "On Legal Reform," and in conformity with the directives of the July CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it is essential to fundamentally reform our political institutions and to create real conditions for the participation of the millions of working people in administering society and the state. In other words, we are expected to implement in deed Lenin's highly important behest that socialism in its creation does not follow directives from above and that it can only result from the live creativity of the masses.

Certainly, the reform of the political system calls for responsible decisions and for great legislative acts both at the union and the republican level. But a great deal can and must be done even now. For this reason, the efforts of party committees to invigorate the activity and boost the role of elective organs and to take fuller account of public opinion and of the initiative and spontaneous activity of peoples and labor collectives deserve every support.

The process of eliminating the administrative command style and the stream of papers is slower than we would like. In the 9 months of the current year, the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat reduced the number of decisions by nearly one-quarter. The number of memorandums, information, and reference materials was cut by approximately the same amount. Identical work has been launched in most obkoms.

For party functionaries and all our cadres, it is rather difficult to learn to work under the new conditions. Nonetheless, it is to be admitted that many leaders, both in the center and in the field, find it hard to overcome the existing stereotypes.

In recent times, the work style of Zaporozhye Obkom and of its first secretary has been repeatedly subject to sharp criticism. However, Comrade A.P. Sazonov continues the attempts to settle immediate problems single-handedly and does not always lend an ear to the opinion of the comrades, and this deprives people of confidence and initiative.

Far from being solved, many problems in the oblast are piling up. This applies primarily to the provision of the population with food and dwellings, and to social reform in the countryside. In the 2 years of this 5-year period, the oblast's industry has fallen short of the targets for increasing the volume of production and labor productivity, and held the republic's last place in contracted supplies. The oblast's pace of increasing production and the per-capita consumption of stockbreeding produce is much slower than the republic's average.

It is evident that things must not go this way any longer.

The shortcomings of the old attitudes are particularly palpable at the rayon level. The volitional and not always competent interference in the work of rayon-level administrative and economic organs is rather frequent. This style of work continues to be inherent, for example, in Troitskiy Raykom, in Voroshilovgrad Oblast. In 1987 alone, its bureau examined the situation in agricultural production seven times, and on three occasions found the work performed by leaders and specialists of the rayon agro-industrial association, by many kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and chairmen of village soviet executive committees unsatisfactory. But these measures did not bring any palpable changes for the better.

Under the conditions of deepening restructuring and reforms in the country's political system, party organs are changing their functions. In view of this, great and responsible work has to be accomplished to create a new structure in the party committee apparatus. This work has to be carried out before the beginning of the accountability and election conferences.

What matters the most in this respect is to give up the practice of dividing the apparatus along departmental lines, to delineate the functions of party and administrative organs in deed, and to concentrate the attention of party committees on organizational, political, and educational work among the masses.

The decision was adopted to halve the number of departments in the structure of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and to keep the following: the Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department; the Ideological, the Socio-Economic, the Agrarian, the Public Law, the Foreign Relations, the General, the Affairs Administration; and—until the Auditing and Control

Commission is formed—the Party Control Commission. The number of responsible functionaries is to be cut from 453 to 320, or 30 percent.

The structure of party obkoms will be approximately the same. Obkoms are expected to settle the staffing and structural problems of party committees and subordinate party institutions independently, within the limits of the salary fund approvable by the CPSU Central Committee. The numerical strength of obkoms is to be cut 30 percent in salary group ! and in a unspecified category, and 20 percent in salary group 2.

As far as gorkoms and raykoms are concerned, their apparatus is to be cut (approximately 15 percent) only in gorkoms existing in towns divided into rayons.

Having abolished gorkom branch sections, it is advisable to reinforce organizational and ideological sections, as well as to keep general sections, or to replace them with record keeping sections. Gorkoms in large industrial centers are authorized to create sections for socioeconomic development, and party committees in large agricultural rayons may create agrarian sections.

Of course, it is essential to see to it that redundant functionaries find new jobs. Not even one single person who had offered much energy and time to party work must be discarded or treated unfairly.

Comrades, while perfecting the structure of party committees, we proceed from the assumption that these committees exert influence through basic party organizations, through the communists.

By 8 October, practically all accountability and election meetings had ended in party groups (98.5 percent); they are now close to completion in shop groups (88.7 percent), and have been held in one-third of basic party organizations. The activity of the communists at the meetings is high, and the atmosphere of the meetings is more business-like and exacting than hitherto. It is enough to say that more than 85 percent of the attending comrades took the floor at party group meetings, about 50 percent at shop organization meetings, and 33 percent at basic party organization meetings.

The activity of elective bodies is being assessed in a more principled manner. The work of 407 (0.3 percent) secretaries and bureaus in shop and basic party organizations, as well as of 766 (0.6 percent) party group organizers was found unsatisfactory.

The communists have assumed a more exacting and responsible attitude toward the election of party group organizers and of secretaries in shop and basic party organizations. Nearly two-thirds of them have been elected from among two or more candidates. More than one-fourth of party group organizers, one-third of shop organization secretaries, and about 30 percent of basic party organization secretaries have been replaced. Hence the need to train and to instruct the newly elected comrades, and to give them practical assistance.

Many party organizations have made use of the right to give their opinions about candidates to higher party organs.

The interest of non-party members in the affairs of party organizations has markedly increased.

At the same time many meetings were held along the old patterns, without anyone being stung to the quick. The debates are frequently restricted to current economic troubles. The tendency to look for the culprits among outsiders continues to be strong. Insufficient weight is being put on the role and position of every communist in restructuring, on problems concerning internal party life, as well as ideological and political work. Of course, this must be remedied.

Cadres have to be selected openly, in extensive discussions with the participation of the communists and non-party members.

It is essential to completely give up the habit of exerting administrative pressure on party organizations; business has to be run not by command, but by well substantiated persuasion.

Particular efforts have to be made to reinforce the composition of party committee secretaries at large enterprises. These posts are to be manned by communists with good production and political experience, predominantly those who are young and capable of spearheading the enterprise and of setting the tone in restructuring. This will also be helpful in preparing efficient reserves for leading cadres.

The problem connected with candidates for the posts of obkom, gorkom, and raykom first secretaries is also very important. After all, in line with the regulation that comes into effect next year, candidates for these posts will also have to be tested by the wide body of people electing local soviet leaders.

Although the reckoning of the term of office in elective posts begins from the present accountability and election campaign, it is essential to carefully consider whether these posts can be staffed, under the present conditions, by officials who had been elected repeatedly.

Thus the accountability and election campaign is expected to give a new impulse to the entire internal party life, to raise its tone. This particularly applies to the the efforts to improve the quality of party ranks, and to the increased exactingness in party enrollment. We all remember what importance was attached to this issue by the All-Union Party Conference. The main criterion in

evaluating candidate party members has to be their active position in restructuring. And this evaluation should be made by the entire labor collective.

The success in party activity has depended always, and particulary depends at present, on the way elective bodies—from the Central Committee to bureaus in basic party organizations—work. It is highly important to see to it that the party apparatus is under constant control of the elective body. Its members must not be commanded. There must be no room for reverence to the higher rank, for eulogy, and for deviations from the principles of party comradery.

Many things still have to be improved in our common work, that is in the work of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, of its Politburo and secretaries.

In recent times Central Committee members have invigorated their participation in preparing issues for examination at plenums, in the Politburo or Secretariat, in drafting documents, and in discussions on problems concerning cadre distribution. But at present this is obviously not sufficient.

In conformity with the directives of the party conference, of the July and the September 1988 CPSU Central Committee plenums, members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee are authorized to form commissions for the most important work sectors. Appropriate proposals will be prepared by the Politburo and will be submitted for your examination.

The new and more complex tasks facing us also call, naturally enough, for certain changes in the distribution of leading cadres both at the republic level and in the field.

In summing up, I would like to emphasize once again: During the accountability and election campaign attention has to be concentrated on how to increase each communist's part in restructuring, and how to ensure for basic party organizations under the new conditions, the role of authentic political nuclei in labor collectives, and, consequently, the party's vanguard role in society.

Comrades, as emphasized in the 19th Party Conference resolution, the main objective of the reform of the political system is to ensure the sovereignty of the soviets of people's deputies. It is to be pointed out that the role of administrative organs in settling economic and social problems is undoubtedly increasing in step with their prestige.

Remarkable for their fruitful work are for example Ternopol Oblast administrative organs. They pay much attention to services and amenities in localities, and to the construction of houses, roads, medical institutions, and cultural facilities in the countryside. The oblispolkom takes concrete steps to improve supplies to the population, and in particular to increase production and to organize the processing of fruit and vegetables.

With the active participation of deputies to local soviets, social problems are also being settled in Donetsk, Khmelnitskiy, Sevastopol, and in Leningradskiy Rayon of Kiev city. But favorable developments are not restricted to big cities. By drawing from enterprise funds, Skadovskiy Gorispolkom, for example, has 8-10 times exceeded the planned allocations for the town's services and amenities.

There is something interesting and instructive to be learned in practically every oblast. It is very important to notice it in time, to encourage it in a business-like way, and to make active use of it.

And yet, comrades, are all soviets prepared to shoulder the heavy burden they assumed in connection with the delineation of functions between party and state organs? Let us be frank: Not all of them are and not everywhere.

The progress made in restructuring the work of many soviets, particularly of their executive committees, sections, and administrations, has thus far been slow and tough. Far from all executive committee functionaries have given up the habit to shun immediate problems, to hide behind party organs, and to seek safety in countless coordinations. This is why in order to compensate for their omissions, party committees must frequently continue to shoulder the management burden.

Great problems concerning social development have disappeared from sight, for example, in Rovno Oblispolkom along with a number of gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms. Lines for dwellings are growing in the oblast longer year in and year out. In the meantime, the share of housing construction in the oblast by direct labor method amounts to a little more than 4 percent of the total. In the last 3 years alone, more than 1,000 teachers and physicians left the oblast because of the lack of dwellings, while many schools and hospitals are understaffed. The oblast invariably holds the republic's last place in developing consumer and health services.

All that directly results from the fact that leaders of the oblispolkom, gorispolkoms, and rayispolkoms lack deep insight, persistence and consistency in settling immediate problems; and lack efficiency in revealing and eliminating shortcomings.

Of course, we all must understand perfectly well that it is not so simple to delineate functions. After all, it is difficult, and occasionally even impossible, to isolate political, economic, social, ideological or organizational matters, so to say, in their pure shape. For this reason it

is essential to correctly understand their mutual relations, and to learn to accomplish outstanding tasks by methods inherent in each organ. Otherwise there will be frictions to the detriment of the issue.

In recent times, for example, Odessa Gorispolkom has somewhat invigorated its work. But it still tries to shift responsibility for a number of problems accumulated in the city to the gorkom. And omissions in the work of the city soviet are numerous. In the city there are 80,000 families on the waiting list for apartments. Yet in the 2 years the city authorities failed to utilize nearly R12 million allocated for housing construction. Water supply and sewer systems are in very poor repair. The city falls short of the plans for the construction of environmental facilities, and sea pollution continues.

These shortcomings have been repeatedly noted by the union and republic-level press. The gorispolkom also remains on the sidelines in settling problems concerning food supplies to the population, the development of subsidiary farms run by enterprises, and the construction of a base to store vegetables. Therefore, it is high time for Comrade Simonenko, gorispolkom chairman, to give up his ambitions and to assume a bigger share of responsibility.

But I would also like, Comrades, to warn you against another extreme.

It is wrong to draw the conclusion that, since the soviets took over management functions, party committees are free from any responsibility for the state of affairs in the economy and in the social sphere. But such trends are already visible. For example, when Aleksandriyskiy gorkom in Kirovograd Oblast was deprecated for the unsatisfactory situation in the provision of the population with fruit, vegetables, and even bread, Comrade G.V. Shtelya, gorkom second secretary, became simply indignant. In his opinion, the gorkom must henceforth not interfere in such affairs.

This kind of, mildly speaking, mitigated interpretation of the delineation of functions is still characteristic of some leaders who accepted it as liberation from their political responsibility for the satisfaction of the pressing needs of the population.

In restructuring the work of local soviets, it is essential to persistently expand democratic principles in their activity, to perfect the forms of relations with labor collectives, and to tighten contacts with the public. After all, disregard for public opinion occasionally results in legitimate indignation, in seething civil sentiments. It is sufficient to recall, for example, the history of the planned construction of a bridge across Khortitsa Island in Zaporozhye, and of a plot of Goloseyevskiy Forest logged in Kiev.

It is quite obvious that, having received broad authority and rights, also guaranteed materially, soviets are expected to radically change the style of their entire activity. But is Zaporozhye Gorispolkom leadership with Comrade V.F. Vasilyev, its chairman, at the head, able to do that? After all, it proved to be unable to prepare properly a soviet session on highly important issues, and this was reported in the central press. The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium intends to evaluate soon this fact from the political viewpoint and to draw the necessary conclusions.

Party committees must consider how and in what way they can and must assist the soviets of people's deputies. First of all, it is necessary to reinforce executive committees with functionaries capable of acting enterprisingly, of making decisions in a competent way, and of accepting responsibility. For this purpose it is also essential to make judicious use of the highly qualified specialists made reduntant in the reorganization of the party apparatus.

In connection with the reform in the political system, a great deal has to be done by the republic's Supreme Soviet and its Presidium. Work has already begun on drafting amendments and supplements to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution, new laws on the election to representative organs of state power, and on updating legislation on soviets. New regulations are being prepared for the Supreme Soviet with an eye on the great tasks which will be in its charge. This work has to be done for the most part in the current year, on wide democratic grounds, and with the participation of social scientists, labor collectives, and the mass media.

In perfecting the political system, it is essential to proceed from the point that it has to provide reliable guarantees for the constitutional rights of every citizen. In this connection the conference declared that the formation of a socialist legal state was a matter of principled importance. The resolution on this issue has set the task of carrying out in the immediate future a legal reform in the country.

Work has already begun in the republic to review the effective juridical precepts, and to bring them fully in line with the requirements of our society's present development.

The party and public rehabilitation of persons groundlessly repressed in the thirties, the forties, and the early fifties continues. After the 27th CPSU Congress, and particularly after the 19th Party Conference, this work was intensified. Since 1956, 310,284 persons have been rehabilitated in the republic. To coordinate the work and to verify the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decision on this subject, a commision of the

Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has been formed composed of the following: Comrades A.A. Titarenko, Yu.N. Yelchenko, V.M. Gayevoy, N.M. Golushko, A.I. Korniyenko, P.K. Musiyenko, A.S. Chumak, and V.I. Yurchuk.

As you know, the republic's party and administrative organs have taken steps to radically improve the work and to raise the cultural and professional level of the personnel of internal affairs organs, and to tighten their contacts with the population and public organizations. In line with the decision of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and on the recommendation of the republic's party committees, in the last 3 years nearly 36,000 Communists and komsomols were sent to internal affairs organs as the best representatives of labor collectives. Work has been intensified in the republic to prevent and to curb offenses, to tighten service discipline, and to cultivate among the MVD personnel deep awareness of their mission to protect the legal interests and rights of the working people.

However, we still cannot be satisfied with the activity of internal affairs organs in the struggle against offenses. To make the results of their work more effective, criminal investigation, services for the struggle against embezzlement and for the protection of public order, and the system of corrective labor establishments have to be restructured, Comrade I.D. Golushko, radically and more energetically.

The benefits from the activity of procuratorship organs should be significantly larger. They now have the opportunity to set about their main function—to verify the constant and strict application of the law. What matters most, Comrade P.G. Osipenko, is to see to it that the procurator's verification is effective, and that it detects in time and eliminates the violations of the law, no matter who is the culprit.

Work has also been carried out to perfect the activity of judicial organs, to ensure that courts are absolutely independent, to strictly follow all democratic principles of the administration of justice, and to steadily implement the principle of presumed innocence. In judicial activity, Comrade V.G. Zaychuk, resolute steps have to be taken to eradicate the perfunctory approach and red tape, and to ensure that innocent persons are not sentenced under any circumstances.

Significant improvements are needed in the activity of the counselorship to protect the citizens' rights in a reliable manner, and in the activity of the State Arbitration and judicial services to enhance discipline and legality in economic relations.

Of course, for this purpose party committees and the the soviets of people's deputies have to reinforce law enforcement organs and judicial services with qualified personnel.

At the same time it is also necessary to keep another aspect in sight—fostering the legal culture of the population, and encouraging citizens to carry out their duties to society and the state.

What frequently arouses anxiety is the fact that, in recent times, a number of labor collectives have somehow shifted the subject of labor discipline to the background. Indeed, Comrades, this year's losses in working time in production have increased. Drinking bouts at workplaces, as well as other offenses and anti-social phenomena have become more frequent, and the struggle waged against them is not effective enough.

To put "one's own house" in order, there is no need to wait for the political system to be reformed. These issues must be significantly better attended to by the local soviets of people's deputies, by the republic's 25,000 labor collective councils, by trade unions, the Komsomol, and all the public.

Neither must one keep silent today about the fact that, in taking advantage of the developing socialist pluralism of ideas, individuals have embarked on the path of spreading opinions that are alien to us, and of inspiring for this purpose, in defiance of the law, various meetings and demonstrations. In some western oblasts, the remnants of Uniate-ism have revived.

Those standing behind all that are people ideologically immature or even openly hostile to socialism. Some of them were brought to account for anti-Soviet, nationalist activities. Now they are making efforts to present themselves as the sorts of leaders who have just been brought to light. But people know perfectly well what these persons are worth, and are aware that at present, when we all are learning to live under the conditions of glasnost and democracy, it is particularly important to foster socialist ideals and values, and not to deviate to the path of libertinage and of violation of the principles of democratism and law and order.

The interests of the people and of the socialist state, protected by the law, must not be ignored. Certainly, pluralism of opinions can and even should exist. But it should undoubtedly work for restructuring, for socialism. This is the heart of the matter.

Comrades, the party conference decisions obligate us to interpret the role of public organizations in a new way.

The accountability reports delivered recently by elective trade union organs showed that the latter had begun to investigate more thoroughly the way social problems are being settled. The verification of the observance of the working people's legal interests has become more thorough.

At the same time, trade union organs at all levels, including the Ukrainian Trade Unions Council, are still slow in overcoming formalism and bureaucratic methods of work. For this reason it is essential first of all to speed up the work to improve the structure of trade union organs, and to tighten their links with life. Trade union functionaries are obligated to see clearly that the labor collective and solicitude for people are for them the main field in which to apply their forces.

Favorable changes are undoubtedly taking place, and more socially remarkable deeds have appeared in the work of Komsomol organizations. This applies to the construction of young people's housing complexes, the formation of scientific and technical creativity centers, and the organization of labor and military-patriotic youth societies.

But let us be frank: We expect from the republic's Komsomol Central Committee more initiative and purposefulness in improving the entire educational work among young people. It is highly important to invigorate and to mobilize the Komsomol apparatus, taking advantage of the fact that it has to be cut 30 percent and that its structure is expected to become more flexible. All these measures should combine with a boost in the role of members of the Central Committee, of oblast, city, and rayon committees, and with cadre reinforcement at lower levels.

The aspiration of Komsomol organizations and of various voluntary youth societies to participate in accomplishing concrete tasks in the sphere of production, ecology, culture, and charity is to be encouraged by all means. However, the disreputed habit of banning any "unsanctioned" youth initiative is still strong and continues to find many loopholes in practice.

Shortcomings have also come to light in teaching social subjects. Unfortunately, obsolete ideas and erroneous dogmatic conceptions are still frequently widespread in classrooms and handbooks. Many teachers do not keep abreast of current developments, and are neither able to analyze new phenomena in the country's life, nor to answer in a well substantiated way questions which excite young people.

Unfortunately, some students and pupils, being politically immature, join various societies of doubtful value. This particularly applies to Kiev, Lvov, and Kharkov.

It is essential, Comrades, to change attitudes not by words but by deeds, to take fuller account of young people's interests, and to democratize the entire process of educating the younger generation.

Women's and veteran organizations formed or revived in the republic in recent times, the Inventors and Rationalizers Society, the Union of Theater Figures, as well as branches of the Soviet Culture Fund and of the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Fund have joined in restructuring in an enterprising manner.

Party organizations have the duty to develop by all means the activity of all forces who come out for improvements in society, and to support their civil initiatives whose purpose is to make our lives fuller, more interesting and more human.

Comrades, the conference resolution "On the struggle against bureaucratism" calls for our energetic and offensive action. Owing to democratization, glasnost, and the intensified criticism, we have managed somewhat to moderate bureaucratic devices. But it is still a long way to appreciable results.

It is essential to realize that bureaucratism as a social evil has assumed dangerous proportions, and it cannot be eradicated overnight.

In turning even the simplest and elementary questions into an insoluble problem, the bureaucrat hurts above all the individual person. The main thing for him is to wave the trouble away, to find an excuse for his idleness, and to protect departmental interests. There are countless examples of this attitude. Here are some of them.

The inhabitants of Radistov Lane in Brovary, Kiev Oblast, mostly elderly people, have for 5 years running been knocking at the doors of every office possible with the request to have their houses provided with gas. No, they have not gotten any refusals. Rather to the contrary, the replies they received have been reassuring; even concrete dates have been fixed for the completion of the work. Many officials participated in this bureaucratic game, including Comrade V.N. Zvol, Brovary Gorispolkom chairman. The most recent deadline fixed for the gasification was "before the end of the current year." But, as it turned out, even the documents have not been prepared yet. The question is: Will people believe leaders of this kind any more? And how long does Brovary Gorkom intend to tolerate such scandalous bureaucratism?

Red tape over the resettlement of Yevgenyevka settlement in Kharkov has been going on even longer (17 years). In connection with the construction of a number of facilities, many families there live literally at the construction site. Naturally enough, they complain to authorities at all levels and to the press. The oblispolkom has adopted 5 decisions on the issue, and the gorispolkom, 11 decisions, but the matter has not been brought to an end anyhow. The posture of onlookers, assumed by the gorkom and by Comrade K.V. Khitryy, its first secretary, is unexplainable. Bureaucratism is particularly harmful in handling applications and complaints from ex-combatants, internationalist servicemen,

disabled persons, and the families of fallen soldiers. But in this connection the Central Committee has adopted decisions and brought to account leaders of various ranks.

Apparently, there is only one way out: Those who have not learned this lesson, should be dismissed from all leading posts, and their affiliation in the party should be re-examined.

It is to be pointed out that also officials of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Council of Ministers do not always react sharply and in a party-like way to the manifestations of bureaucratism. This matter should be taken in hand by the Central Committee Secretariat and by leaders of these organs personally.

The atmosphere of impunity corrupts and results in the repetition of this chronic malady. We must be principle-minded and, let us not be afraid of this word, merciless with regard to all carriers of this malady, and must give the widest publicity to the measures applied to them.

Implementing Party Conference Directives Concerning Improvements in Ideological Work and Developing Inter-Ethnic Relations [subhead]

Comrades: Problems concerning the renovation of the entire ideological work are organically linked and share the rank with radical economic reform and the democratization of public life.

Tasks facing the party at the new stage of restructuring were further specified by the Central Committee general secretary at the recent meeting with leaders of the mass media, of ideological institutions, and creative unions.

In examining the state of affairs in the spiritual sphere, we can see that social consciousness is becoming increasingly political in its content. People's activity and their interest in an improvement in all public affairs are increasing. Qualitative changes in this sphere are obvious and deep. And this requires from party organizations and ideological cadres the ability to analyze public opinion, to know people's moods, to forecast daily changes in consciousness, and on this basis, to build the educational process. But the ability to do this has thus far been restricted. And here is perhaps one of the main reasons why restructuring in ideological and educational work has been slow, and why formal attitudes have survived in it.

This situation has also been brought about by the slow restructuring on the ideological front. Notwithstanding a certain increase in the creative activity of scientists, social research in the republic as a whole still drop seriously behind the changes that are taking place, and inadequately reflect the topical needs of life.

One of the important tasks facing social scientists is, for example, to speed up the elucidation of the so-called "blank spots" in history. It is to be admitted that this work has been not only slow, but also poorly coordinated. And as a result, items that find their way to the press are not always objective; in addition they distort the historical truth.

For example, on 21 July the newspaper LITERATURNA GAZETA published a lengthy article about the well known Ukrainian historian Mykhaylo Hrushevskyy. The article attempted to one-sidedly explain his scientific and political activity, and even to some extent to justify his notorious nationalist positions. And it is doubly deplorable that such a miscalculation was made by a newspaper that is becoming interesting and topical. For this reason the editorial board of RADYANSKA UKRAINA was right to publish a competent rview of the aforesaid article.

For the party committee, and also for the board of the Writers Union, it is time without labelling anybody or anything, to assist the editorial board of its printed organ.

Comrades, the republic's party committees have always paid and continue to pay, one might say, particular attention to the pursuit of the CPSU nationality policy. In recent times, especially after the adoption of the well-known decisions by the CPSU Central Committee, this work has been significantly invigorated. Concrete measures have been drawn up to implement in the republic the directives of the 27th Party Congress and of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee plenum with regard to nationality relations, and to the intensified internationalist and patriotic education.

In this respect, party organizations have now been provided with clear reference points set forth in the resolution adopted by the conference "on inter-ethnic relations." The simplified ideas about the nationality issue allegedly "freed from any problems" are being overcome, and experience is being accumulated in work under the conditions of democracy and glasnost. A commission has been set up under the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet for patriotic and internationalist education and for inter-ethnic relations. A corresponding sector has also been set up in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The republic-level "Druzhba" cultural and enlightening center, called upon to actively promote the deepening processes of mutual enriching among national cultures, has developed its activity in Kiev. Expositions showing friendship among peoples have been created in 22 oblast-level museums of history and local lore, and in art museums there are stands dedicated to Soviet multinational art. A republic-level association has been organized for the production of video films and video

programs, mainly to advertise Ukrainian art both at home and abroad. The question of building a cultural center of the Ukrainian SSR in Moscow is being considered.

It is to be emphasized that restructuring has also invigorated all the literary and artistic life in the republic. Articles and talks by prominent writers, publicists, and scientists on the topics of historical and cultural heritage, education, and ecology have met with wide response from the public.

In the field, significantly more attention has been paid to larger compact ethnic groups living in the republic. In shaping elective party, administrative, and public organs, and in nominating candidates for leading jobs, pains are being taken to ensure that ethnic minorities are represented in them. Conditions are being created to more fully meet their needs in the sphere of science, education, literature, art, the mass media, book publication, and amateur art creativity. Dozens of optional classes have opened at secondary and higher schools to study the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, Greek, and Crimean Tatar languages. More attention has been paid to Hungarian, Moldavian, and Polish-language schools. Hundreds of new national and ethnic amateur art collectives have been formed. There are newspapers, literary supplements, radio and television broadcasts in Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Moldavian. Preparations have begun for issuing a Crimean Tatar-language newspaper.

As you can see, a great deal is being done. Yet not all problems have been settled.

As noted in documents issued by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the shortcomings and miscalculations made in the past reduced in an unjustified way the sphere in which the Ukrainian language was used.

What have we managed to do to remedy the situation?

First of all, teachers training institutes specialized in the Ukrainian language and literature have increased the enrollment of students. Universities have resumed courses for improving the qualifications of Ukrainian language teachers. New curriculums have been worked out for the Ukrainian language and literature, and the publication of appropriate teaching methodology textbooks has increased. As of the next schoolyear, the number of Ukrainian language and literature classes will increase by 5 hours weekly. Special classes have for the first time been introduced for this purpose in 9th and 10th grades at all schools.

The number of Ukrainian-language schools has increased by 137. Out of the eight new schools opened in Kiev, for example, four are Ukrainian and two mixed Ukrainian and Russian-language schools. The number of schools with intensified Ukrainian language and literature classes will increase. The share of all pupils going to Ukrainian-language schools in the republic amounts to nearly a half.

At schools and kindergartens in every residential district of oblast centers and large industrial towns, steps are being taken to run both Ukrainian and Russian-language classes and groups on the basis of free choice.

More attention has been paid to the choice of the lecturing language at higher educational institutions. As of the current year, optional groups are to be formed at all higher educational institutions to learn the Ukrainian language and literature. At universities, practically a half of groups and departments lecture in Ukrainian.

A 5-volume textbook for the history of Ukrainian literature has been prepared for students. As of the next year, a popular scientific journal will be published in Ukrainian, entitled PAMYATKY UKRAINY [MONUMENTS OF THE UKRAINE].

The Ministry of Culture is taking steps to expand in the republic's theaters the sphere in which the Ukrainian language is being used. The O.P. Dovzhenko film studio has created a production and creative association to dub films in Ukrainian.

Our-own-language festivals are becoming traditional.

I have been tackling all that in such a detail because discussions on the Ukrainian language's sphere of application have not come to an end. The only trouble is that sound and business-like polemics on this subject are frequently being substituted for, to put it mildly, demagogic verbiage, in particular like that at the July session of the Ukrainian Writers Union Presidium. The impression is that some comrades, conveniently hidden behind restructuring slogans, are concerned about their personal ambitions rather than about a constructive settlement of the problem.

In this connection, it seems to be advisable to elucidate once again the position assumed by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo on this question. We will create all conditions necessary for a harmonious and natural development of native-Russian bilingualism and for the vigorous usage of the Ukrainian language in various spheres of state, public, and cultural life. Representatives of all nations and nationalities living in the republic will also be encouraged by all means to learn the Ukrainian language.

While concerned for the developing Ukrainian culture and language, one has to bear in mind that language problems affect the interests of the millions of people of various nationalities living in the republic.

Like hitherto, appropriate attention will be paid to learning the Russian language as a tested means of communication among nationalities.

As emphasized in the party conference resolution "on inter-ethnic relations," concern for the development of one's own language must not be opposed to the democratic principles of free option for the language of instruction. Any attempts to issue orders in this delicate sphere of human relations might only produce the opposite reaction—the manifestation of nationalist, chauvinist sentiments.

Internationalists should consider the interests of all nations and nationalities as equally important and dear. In this respect, there must be no other attitude.

Comrades, there are quite a few acute problems connected with restoring national monuments, with the unsatisfactory shape of many historical places and reserves, and with the pollution in the environment. The public has proved to be an important constructive force.

What matters now the most is to organize the things in common and to achieve the necessary results.

All of us are witnesses to the noticeable impact of restructuring on the processes taking place in religious life. Among a significant number of believers, interest in society's political, socioeconomic, and spiritual problems is increasing, and confidence in the changes which are taking place is strengthening. On the other hand, the manifestations of religious extremism and attempts to take advantage of democratization to present groundless demands have become more frequent. All that proves that new attitudes are also essential in atheistic work.

Last but not least, there is one more point—the performance of the mass media. In line with the party conference resolution "On Glasnost," we endeavor to make fuller use of the potential of newspapers, journals, television, and radio to provide people with complete and objective information about the progress being made in restructuring, about experiences, difficulties, and problems in its course, and about the ways to settle these problems. It is important that the mass media help cultivate in people the ability to think and to work in the new way, enterprisingly and purposefully; it goes without saying, to think and to work in the interests of the people, of socialism, so that glasnost is universal and truthful.

But do, for example, republic-level party newspapers meet these requests to the full extent? Frankly speaking, they are far from that. Newspaper columns are covered with proof that their analysis of restructuring problems is perfunctory and a long way from reality. The way the topics are being discussed is frequently uninteresting, different viewpoints are only seldomly being confronted, and this does not force anyone to analyze or act. The published items mostly indicate what is to be done without explaining at the same time what ways and concrete methods are to be used to achieve the goals set.

Leaders of editorial collectives are perfectly aware of that. They are, but do not draw the necessary conclusions, and if they do, they are very slow in that.

If party committees and the soviets of people's deputies everywhere give the journalists all-round assistance, take care of them, support them in a business-like way, and, whenever they deserve, also criticize them in a comradely manner, the cause of restructuring, no doubt, can only win.

Comrades, party and ideological aktivists, and the mass media have done a great deal to explain and disseminate the conference materials and the decisions of the July CPSU Central Committee plenum. A direct and active part in this important undertaking has been performed by members of the CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committees, by leading party, administrative, trade union, Komsomol, and economic cadres.

It is now highly important to be able to discuss, to persuade and dissuade people; to show and to prove that the destiny of all our plans only depends on concrete accomplishments, on creative and highly productive labor.

In brief, in the sphere of ideology, restructuring should be as deep and cardinal as in other sectors. This is why it is essential in this field to eradicate stereotypes, and to persistently adopt new attitudes. This applies to all aspects of the party's ideological activity. Everything accomplished there has to be regarded only as the beginning, and this work has to be continued with even greater energy and purposefulness.

Comrades, we have entered the most difficult and responsible stage of restructuring—the stage of implementing all announced plans. For this reason it is particularly important to correctly distribute forces and to consider well all details necessary to raise the effectiveness of our work in all sectors.

It goes without saying that the success of the matter will depend on the initiative and purposefulness of every worker, on the skill and persistence of leading cadres in implementing party policy.

The tasks ahead are difficult. There are difficulties, and of course, there will be some more of them. But it is essential to overcome them, to critically and exactingly evaluate the achievements, and to steadily move forward along the entire line of restructuring.

Commissions Formed

AU2410143488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 12 Oct 88 p 1

["Decision of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum Forming Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Commissions and Reorganizing the Apparatus of the Republic's Party Organs"]

[Text] 1. In conformity with the directives of the 19th all-union party conference, and with the decisions of the July and the September (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, the plenum finds it expedient to form the following commissions of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee:
—for the issues of organizational party and cadre work;
—for the ideological issues;
—for the issues of socioeconomic development;
—for the the issues of the agro-industrial complex;
—for the issues of public law.

2. The Central Committee Politburo is commissioned to take practical steps to organize the work of the commissions and form a new structure of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, as well as to radically change the functions, content, and methods of work in conformity with the tasks facing party committees as organs of political leadership.

Before holding party conferences, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms are commissioned to reorganize their apparatuses in such a way as to enable elective party organs, with the assistance of these apparatuses, to more fully exercise their political, organizational, and educational functions, to more profoundly analyze and more actively influence the processes taking place in all spheres of society's life, to more purposefully perform the current work in implementing the adopted decisions and in verifying the implementation, and to enhance the initiative of basic party organizations and the vanguard role of the communists.

3. In the process of reorganization, the party apparatus is to be reinforced with qualified and competent functionaries possessing high political and businesslike qualities, enjoying prestige and confidence among the Communists and nonparty members, and capable of accomplishing the qualitatively new tasks.

Resolution on Food Supply

AU2410142888 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 12 Oct 88 p 3

["Decision of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on Measures To Improve Food Supplies to the Republic's Population"]

[Text] 1. The plenum notes that the work carried out in the republic to increase food output and the amount of agricultural produce procured has made it possible to somewhat improve food supplies to the population during the past 2 years.

At the same time, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has not succeeded in making a radical change in this important sphere. The assortment of meat products, butter, fish products, and confectionary and vegetable supplies continues to be limited. The population's supply of fruit, berries, and baby food has not improved. As a result of the unsatisfactory organizational work performed by obkoms and oblispolkoms, some oblasts have been implementing the practical measures drawn up by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo to improve food supplies to the population in an unsatisfactory way. Inadequate use has been made of the reserves available, and a free-ride mentality has been evident in Kirovograd, Vinnitsa, Zaporozhye, Odessa, and Nikolayev Oblasts.

2. The Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and most oblispolkoms have not displayed appropriate persistence in fundamentally restructuring economic relations in the countryside and in speeding up the growth of agricultural production, and they have actually become reconciled to the deteriorated supply of livestock produce to the population in a number of regions.

The Ukrainian Union of Consumer Societies has failed to take exhaustive measures to increase food resources. A significant part of what is being produced by private holdings and fruit growing societies is not being purchased, and the use made of food production facilities is unsatisfactory. There are many fair complaints about the quality of production. The performance of kolkhoz markets has deteriorated.

The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Trade, ministries and departments having trade networks, and the local soviets of people's deputies have failed to raise the level of trade services for the population to an appropriate level; stoppages have not been eliminated in the trade of commodities in abundant supply, and due rejection of rudeness and unattentiveness to the customers has not appeared.

3. Comrade V.A. Masol's report on the measures taken by the republic's government to improve food supplies to the population was taken into consideration.

By widely applying the economic management mechanism, economic accountability, and leasing contracts, Communist leaders of administrative and economic offices are expected to increase output and to improve the quality of agricultural produce; to encourage labor collectives' and every laborer's initiative to further develop food production and to improve food supplies to the population; to adopt urgent measures to put trade in order; to tighten control over the distribution of food resources; to see to it that necessities are on sale everywhere; and to take effective steps in eliminating waiting lines.

4. The Central Committee Politburo, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have to intensify organizational and political work to meet the requirements of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and of the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum to significantly improve food supplies, and to increase the responsibility of Communist leaders for fully accomplishing the tasks set under the food program.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee requests kolkhoz board members; labor collective councils at sovkhozes and food production, processing, and trade enterprises; and all laborers in the agro-industrial complex to significantly increase production and to improve the quality of food, particularly of meat and dairy products, of which there is an acute shortage.

The plenum calls on party organizations and all Communists to concretely define their part in settling the tasks set for increasing food production, to display in this sphere their high political awareness and responsibility, and to set an example in highly productive shock work.

Shcherbitskiy Closes Debates

AU2410142288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Oct 88 p 4

[RATAU report on speech by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, concluding the debates at the October plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in Kiev on 10 Oct]

[Text] The analysis of our work, made in the process of preparations for and during the plenum itself, has showed that the Central Committee members evaluated the results of the past period with exactingness and self-criticism.

Indeed, many problems have accumulated in the republic. Some of them can and must be solved in the immediate future. But some others are of a considerable size, and it will take a great deal of effort, material and financial resources, and, of course, time to solve them.

The strengthening confidence on the part of ourselves and all the Soviet people that things will get better, and that good results will be achieved without fail, is beyond question. For this purpose we must work better and more efficiently, must investigate any undertaking more thoroughly, and must always recognize the political significance of the adopted decisions and the results of our work.

We are still making a great effort to eliminate shortcomings and omissions that could have been avoided. In a number of cases the adopted decisions have not been implemented adequately and they are not yet having the required effect. For this reason it is still most important to organize the implementation properly, to check the progress made in implementing the adopted decisions much more closely, and to increase the personal responsibility of those responsible for the implementation.

We regard the criticism, both explicit and implicit, expressed by the speakers at the plenums of republic-level organs, including the Central Committee plenum, as fair. It could have been more extensive, although we exert it ourselves almost daily. The ideas and suggestions put forward will be taken into account, and the requests and individual issues will be examined. In brief, everything necessary will be done.

The issue of our cadre corps, primarily of management, has to be tackled separately. In recent times, some managers have been subject to criticism which was not always substantiated, and which occasionally was even groundless and partial. This has undoubtedly damaged the prestige of leaders, and offended many of them. Of course, this is not good for matters.

In this connection I find it necessary to emphasize that without talented specialists and enterprise and shop leaders, and without experienced production organizers our production tasks cannot be accomplished. For this reason party organizations must promptly find and more boldly promote such functionaries—people imbued with the ideas of restructuring—and must boost their prestige and initiative in useful undertakings.

Restructuring work has shown that the removal of the burden of old ideas and attitudes had proved for many people to be a difficult and painful task. The way we treat this abnormality does not always seem to be appropriate. For this reason, here and there the abnormality tends to become chronic. To prevent it, it is advisable where necessary to resort to "surgical" intervention.

In other words, since concrete deeds and results matter at present the most, the question has to be formulated in the following way: Whoever cannot or, the more so, is unwilling to restructure must cede his place to someone else who has realized which tasks are outstanding and who will be able to successfully accomplish them. We will be able to successfully accomplish the tasks set for the present and for the successive stages of restructuring only by energetically increasing our efforts and by relying on enterprising and competent functionaries.

Samarkand Elects New Party First Secretary

LD2110111588 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Samarkand, Uzbekistan, October 21 TASS—The Samarkand Regional Communist Party Committee today held a plenary meeting which considered an organisational issue.

The plenum relieved Nazir Radzhabov of the duties of first secretary for having compromised himself.

It elected Anvar Ikramov, who earlier worked as secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, as first secretary of the Regional Party Committee.

Rafik Nishanov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, spoke at the plenum.

Further Regional Changes

LD2210150688 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—Plenary meetings of the Zaporozhe (Ukraine) and Pavlodar (Kazakhstan) regional committees of the party were held today to consider organisational matters.

A plenary meeting of the Zaporozhe regional committee relieved Anatoliy Sazonov of the duties of the first secretary of the committee in view of transfer to another job.

Grigoriy Kharchenko, who worked as deputy head of the department of the orgnaisational party work of the CPSU Central Committee, was elected the first secretary of the Zaporozhe regional committee of the party.

A plenary meeting of the Pavlodar regional committee relieved Petr Yerpilov of the duties of the first secretary in view of his retirement on pension.

Yuriy Meshcheryakov who worked as a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, was elected the first secretary of the Pavlodar regional committee of the party.

Chuvash Obkom Changes Noted

LD2510143688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] And now we will tell you about the plenum of the Chuvash party obkom held today in Cheboksary. The plenum examined the organizational matters and relieved Prokopyev of the duties of first secretary of the party obkom in connection with his retirement on pension. Petrov, who until now was chairman of the Chuvash ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was elected first secretary of the Chuvash obkom.

Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest

Situation Remains 'Tense'

LD2310103888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast has somewhat stabilized recently. However, the situation continues to remain tense. Listen to what our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko reports from Stepanakert:

[Omelchenko] Thousands of people—Armenians and Azerbaijanis—have left their homes. In general, life is not great for them. Trouble chased them away. Trouble which we share but at times did not notice has been smouldering for decades. This was ignorance and a desire not to know about our neighbor, the person next door, someone of another nationality. Now people have parted, like relatives who are unable to get along, thereby multiplying their sufferings, exaggerating many times over their misfortunes, and bearing in their hearts bitterness and fear toward the people with whom they have parted. Both the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians are in very poor conditions in their new locations; they live in cramped and makeshift premises and, in some cases, in unsanitary conditions. For many months they have not been working. Here is a short interview from the Karabakh Hotel in Stepanakert. Introduce yourself, please.

[Kagzamanyan] Tatiana Viktorovna Kagzamanyan.

[Omelchenko] Where are you from?

[Kagzamanyan] The town of Shusha.

[Omelchenko] Why have you abandoned your home and come here?

[Kagzamanyan] Well, we were asked to leave there.

[Omelchenko] You were working there but have not found work here?

[Kagzamanyan] Not yet.

[Omelchenko] What then have you decided? Will you stay on here to live or will you nevertheless return home?

[Kagzamanyan] If all will be well, we will return to our homes.

[Omelchenko] In the next room lives the Arutunyan family: Aravik and Grigoriy Semenovich. Aravik, why did you leave Shusha?

[Aravik] Four times I have been withdrawn from work for no reason at all.

[Omelchenko] Where were you working?

[Aravik] I worked in the Department of Social Affairs at the Shusha (?city ispolkom). I have been living here in the hotel since 15 May. It is a good thing that my husband is getting his pension.

[Omelchenko] Aravik, how do you see your life proceeding from here?

[Aravik] I do not know how it will turn out. As they say, this heart is tired of hating.

[Omelchenko] Aravik, hatred is a poor adviser, is it not?

[Aravik] Maybe as years go by we will forget a few things; maybe everything will settle down.

[Omelchenko] Both in Stepanakert and in Shusha the ruined housing is being restored so that people can return to their homes. The supervisors of the restoration work promise that this week the apartments will be nearly all repaired. The repair of burned out construction is beginning. I made the following recording in one Shusha apartment.

[Begin recording] [Omelchenko] A month has passed since dozens of houses were burned and raided in Shusa and Stepanakert; now Azerbaijani women are clearing up the Armenian apartments in order to make them ready for the previous inhabitants. The workers have just put in the windowpanes.

[First worker] We are from the house repair body of [word indistinct].

[Omelchenko] How do you feel about what happened, about the way the apartments were devastated?

[First worker] Well, I am 64 years old and I have never seen anything like it. I do not know who did it.

[Second worker] I want the Armenians to return and to start living in the houses again.

[Omelchenko] You will not harm them?

[Workers] No, no, no, no. Nobody. [end recording]

[Omelchenko] One would like to believe that all that was said by these workers was said in a really genuine spirit, and that the majority of both Armenians and Azerbaijanis feel the same way.

Armenian Collective Debate

LD2310212288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; L.Maksimov, M. Nersesyan video report from Armenia—recorded]

[Text] [Maksimov] Here at the Armyanskaya Nuclear Power Station—just, incidentally, as everywhere in the republic—many problems and unresolved questions have accumulated. [video shows plaque written in Armenian and Russian bearing the words "USSR Ministry of Power and Electrificiation, VPO Soyuzatomenergo, Armyanskaya AES"]

And there was an honest and principled discussion about this at a report-back and election party conference of the Armyanskaya AES collective. [video shows shots of this conference, showing platform and audience]

Naturally, the nuclear power engineering workers were most concerned about the forthcoming reprofiling of the station. How might one ensure that a strong and harmonious collective, having for many years honestly and selflessly given their labor to the motherland and producing almost one-third of the republic's electrical power, does not yield its position during the period of change? How, and with what, can the collective of the nuclear power station help the republican party organization in overcoming those manifestations of stagnation that were discussed in all frankness at the September Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee? [video shows platform, including shot of Armenian First Secretary Arutyunyan, on whom the camera focuses]

[Nersesyan] It seems to me that the presence at the party conference of Suren Gurgenovich Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, lent even greater acuteness and openness to the debates. The Communists of the station literally heaped questions upon him.

The frank and businesslike discussion of like-minded people continued during the intervals, and outgrew the framework of the party organization alone. [video shows Arutyunyan surrounded in a foyer, speaking to reporters]

[Arutyunyan] But what is notably striking is the activity of the Communists, the high degree of earnestness and interest. And they don't enclose themselves in a circle of narrow problems, but they raise questions, so to speak, of republican dimensions. Here there are questions not only of a management and economic nature but also political and ideological questions.

Of course, everybody is concerned about the problems connected with Nagorno-Karabakh. In our republic at present, roughly a thousand proposals have been received from labor collectives that want to establish permanent contacts, and to effect patronage assistance,

to Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. We have had a broad program of proposals. We have reviewed everything there. Comrade Vezirov and I reviewed things. We agreed to do all this, and now we have, so to say, an elaborated broad program—in the sphere of economics, in the sphere of social development, and in the sphere of developing cultural relations with the NKAO.

All this has to be implemented. And now, you have also just heard that the proposal was made at the conference that the nuclear power station should take on patronage of the villages. This kind of patriotic upsurge is everywhere. Evidently this has to be supported, and all-around contacts between our republic and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast developed. [video shows reporters holding hand-held cassette recorders toward Arutyunyan]

Armenians Leaving Baku

AU2510081688 Paris AFP in English 0808 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Sophie Shihab report]

[Text] Baku, Soviet Union, Oct 25 (AFP)—The spectre of racial discrimination hovers above this capital city of Soviet Azerbaijan, according to members of an Armenian minority, who claim that oppression is forcing them into exile.

About 10 per cent of Baku's two million residents are ethnic Armenians, while the majority of the populace, the Azeris, are Muslims.

"More than half of us have already left, those who are left are waiting to do so," a group of Armenians in Khutor, a shanty town north of the city, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Tension remains high in Khutor, where a militiaman in civilian clothing was killed in June when a group of 1,000 people, accompanied by policemen attempted to attack the town and an Armenian opened fire, the group said.

"Fortunately, Moscow insisted that one of ours was among the jury," one of the men told AFP. The gunman has since been released.

For two months after the incident, the army took up positions at the entrances to the town. Today, the city seems calm.

But the memory of February's anti-Armenian pogrom in the Azerbaijan town of Sumgait, which left 32 dead—26 of them Armenians—is still vivid, and still divides the two communities.

"At Sumgait, we gave (the Armenians) a good lesson," a young Baku Azerbaijani told AFP. Three Azerbaijanis are currently on trial in Moscow over the Sumgait pogrom.

While such attitudes are not universal, with many ethnic Azerbaijanis condemning the bloodshed, the atmosphere here is still not one of reconciliation.

"We had Azerbaijani friends before February—now they no longer speak to us, they want us to leave," said one Armenian, echoing a popular feeling of the minority here that they are being discriminated against and denied employment.

But the Armenians' departure is easier said than done.

Their "illegal" homes cannot be sold, or exchanged against flats in Armenia.

Members of Baku's Armenian minority are more "Russian" than their cousins in Armenia, partly because they do not have access to Armenian-language schools.

Nevertheless they express support for Armenian activists in the troubled Azerbaijan region of Nagorno-Karabakh, where Armenian residents are pushing for the area to be made part of the Armenian republic.

Yerevan Reports on Sumgait 'Pogroms' Trial

LD2410140188 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Report by Smbad Shahmuratyan on the Soviet Supreme Court trial of three persons accused of engaging in mass disorders in Sumgait, Azerbaijan, in February: "On the Eve of the Day of Reckoning"]

[Text] Armenians! Open the door or else! In the name of the law, open the door right away! A minute later, the door came off its frame under the blows of axes and [word indistinct] and the Arakelyan couple were taken down to the yard, being beaten up all the way there. The rest took place in a matter of minutes. The husband was killed under a rain of blows from axes and metal rods. Then gasoline was poured on him and he was set on fire. His wife, who had received numerous injuries, was also set on fire; but, by a superhuman effort, she kept herself motionless in order to avoid receiving new blows. Thus Artash Arakelyan, resident of apartment building number five in Quarter 41A, was murdered 29 February 1988 at 1700. His wife Asia survived, like many other Armenians of Sumgait, for one reason alone: The attackers thought that they had already killed her.

Death to the Armenians, the leader of the mob shouted through the megaphone; Death, the mob of 200-300 echoed. They then moved further into the quarter, waving the Azerbaijan flag. Having destroyed several homes, they entered the yard of building 2B. A little later, under circumstances of unimaginable and

(?unspeakable) barbarity and sadism, Soghomon Melkonyan, Raisa Melkonyan, and their children Igor, Eduard, and Irina were killed. Misha Ambartsumyan was also tortured to death alongside the Melkonyans. The killers had left not a shred of clothing on either Raisa or her 24-year-old daughter. Irina's screams could be heard above the roar and whistles by the Melkonyan's two daughters-in-law [words indistinct] who, by crossing from one balcony to another together with their three young children, had hidden in the home of a Lezgin neighbor. Blood was being shed in broad daylight in a large and densely populated neighborhood, watched—besides the murderers—by curious neighbors leaning out of windows and balconies. There was not a single militiaman in sight, and the troops stationed in the area during the day had moved away.

For nearly 8 months now the word Sumgait has hardly ever been absent from our minds. Who could ever think that Armenian genocide could be perpetrated in our day, too, and in this country of ours, of all places? Who could ever imagine that we would ever again have to witness circumstances that created refugees? What the Sumgait event constitutes, in essence, is very clear to us; but there are many dark aspects and mysteries of the crime which must be unravelled and clarified in the course of the trials.

The trial of the killers of the Ovanisyan brothers is currently in progress. The trial of one of the biggest episodes of the Sumgait genocide [tzeghaspanoutyoun] began 18 October here in Moscow, at the hall of the USSR Supreme Court. We are now talking about the crimes committed at Quarter 41A on 29 February, the third day of the pogroms. The trial is being conducted by the Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court, presided over by Raymond Brize, member of the USSR Supreme Court. The state prosecution is being conducted by Vladimir Pavlovskiy, state counselor of justice and deputy chief prosecutor of the USSR. The three representatives of the criminal mob on trial are: Akhmed Akhmedov, Azad Ismalilov, and Yazar Dzhafarov. The first two were born in 1966, and Dzhafarov turned 18 in August. Their defending counsels are from Azerbaijan. Ruben (?Sarkisyan) and (?Elena) Shaposhnikov, members of the Collegium of Advocates of the Armenian Republic, are looking after the interests of the victims at the trial.

Side by side with the victims—Arakelyans, Ambarsumyans, and Melkonyans—sits Ivan Kozuvenko, whose home was similarly destroyed. During a recess, we interviewed him. He said among other things that Russians were also among those who left Sumgait, moving out of Azerbaijan. He, too, would soon leave, taking his family with him.

It is impossible to express (?in a short dispatch) the tension and psychological dramatism of the trial. The gaze of the victims and the criminals inevitably crash against each other. Ismalilov and Dzhafarov wear a subdued look. Akhmedov tries to maintain an air of confidence, even one of pride. He is the one who, megaphone in hand, led the mob for 3 hours. He is the one who uttered instructions to the frenzied crowd. And what about he who sent him on his mission of massacre? [words indistinct] That, so far, is undisclosed. Akhmedov is charged with having organized mass disturbances. Both he and Ismalilov and Dzhafarov have personally participated in the destruction and murders committed. If it is accepted that 200-300 persons participated in the massacre, why is it that only three persons are on trial? The indictment says that due to the great volume of the investigations and the great number of persons who participated in the mass disturbances, the criminal case has been divided into a number of separate cases.

The 2d day of the trial was held in an incomparably more tense atmosphere that the first. The examination of the accused began. Akhmedov rejected the basic charges and pleaded guilty only on one count, that of participating in mass disturbances, but denied that he had either organized them or had killed anyone. The president of the court and the prosecutor reminded him that he had confessed in the preliminary investigations both to organizing the disturbances and to participating in the killings. His answer was unexpected: The confession was coerced out of him; he had been beaten up and blackmailed by the ethnic Azerbaijani criminal investigation official. Ismalilov also made a similar [word indistinct] statement.

The trial is being held in open court. On the 1st day, ten journalists attended it. On the 2d day, however, there were only two of us left. The Armenian community and students in Moscow are following the trial with intense attention, but there are very few representatives of Armenia in the courtroom. Yet, the presence of jurists, journalists, psychologists, and other specialists from our republic would have helped to ensure that the orientation of the public opinion regarding the Sumgait trail was correct and properly founded.

Economic

Statistics Committee Issues Economic Results

LD2410181788 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—The process of further revitalization of the Soviet economy was going on in January-September 1988, says a report by the USSR State Committee for Statistics (Goskomstat), which was published here today. Production rates rose above all thanks to intensive factors. National income increased 4.7 per cent as against a corresponding period in the past year, social labour productivity—5.2 per cent. Planned targets for profit and other revenues were overfulfilled. This was made possible thanks to introduction of full cost-accounting and self-financing.

Industrial output was up 4.3 per cent on a corresponding period of last year, and purchases of livestock products rose 4 per cent. More funds were appropriated to fulfill social programmes in the country. Production of consumer goods increased and the plan of retail goods turnover was fulfilled. Paid services to population and the volume of work done by cooperatives grew substantially.

Industrial output was up 4.3 per cent, including consumer goods (group b)—5.4 per cent, means of production (group a)—3.9 per cent. Labour productivity rose 5 per cent. The entire increment in output was thanks to higher labour productivity with a total reduction in labour force.

At the same time a tense situation persisted in some economic sectors, notes the report of the committee. National income rises at lower rates than planned. Growth in wages at many enterprises outstripped a rise in labour productivity. Monetary incomes of population are not fully provided with goods and services. The problem remains acute with meeting the demand for cheap goods whose output dropped. The economy did not fulfill the nine-month plan of housing, social and cultural construction. The financial situation at some enterprises and organizations remains unsteady. Scientific and technical progress, resource-saving and the drive to raise quality of products have not become determining factors for the economic growth.

Economic Development on Supreme Soviet Agenda

LD2410181788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] As you already know, the USSR State Statistics Committee has summed up the results of the country's social and economic development for 9 months of this year. In previous broadcasts we have informed you of some data. Now I will draw your attention once again to some of the clauses in the document. This year we are continuing to direct the economy into satisfying the real needs of the Soviet people.

More than R4 billion has been channelled into measures to improve the people's standard of living. At the same time there is still a lag in the production of televisions, washing machines, radios, sewing machines, and other sophisticated domestic appliances. Many of you will yourselves have come across this problem when you tried to acquire one or another of these goods in the shops. In spite of the growth in the volume of sales, the problem of supplying the population with many foodstuffs, especially meat, remains acute. The growing demand of the population for confectionary items is not being satisfied. The assortment and volume of potatoes, fruits, and vegetables reaching the shops is insufficient. In a word, as is noted by the USSR State Statistics Committee, we must intensify work in the current quarter to ensure the fulfillment of the plan tasks for the year, so as to enter the next year of the 5-year plan successfully.

As you know, it is precisely the plan for the economic development of our country for 1989 that will, among other issues, be approved by the 11th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation. I remind you that it will open at the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities on 27 October at 1000 in the Session Hall of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Great Kremlin Palace. On 26 October at 1700 in the Session Hall of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin there will be a session of the Council of Elders of the Soviet of the Union and of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The registration of deputies arriving to attend the session will begin tomorrow.

Ryzhkov Speaks on Agro-Industrial Complex

OW2110154788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0410 GMT 21 Oct 88

["Restructuring Spotlight" program presented by television correspondent Golubev]

[Text] [Golubev] Hello, Comrades. A USSR Council of Ministers session was held 19 October. It discussed the course of the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee's and the Council of Ministers' decisions on production and raising the technical quality of equipment for processing branches of the agro-industrial complex [AIC]. Our program played a part in the preparations for this session. Processing workers, scientists, and machine builders took part in two "Restructuring Spotlight" programs. They made a number of specific proposals and critical comments on further development of the processing industry. Today we are bringing you reportage from the USSR Council of Ministers session. It is opened by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov.

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] To give you an impression of the immensity of this problem, I would like to say that 77 billion roubles should be invested in the AIC processing industry in the next 7 to 8 years. I repeat: 77 billion. More than half of this represents equipment. We feel that only the processing reequipment plan will enable our production output to reach 40 billion roubles over this period. Is this a lot or not? It is 25 percent. These figures are not accidental, because if we look at present losses from the field to the shop counter, we will find that 25 to 30 percent of agricultural output is lost. Our task is to minimize these losses. I appeal to everyone to take a very active part in the discussion of this question. We are grateful to television for answering the government's appeal to air several programs on the eve of this session. Yesterday the "Restructuring Spotlight" carried a program; and a second "Restructuring Spotlight" program, specially devoted to this topic, was aired a few days ago. I think this allowed us and our people to satisfy themselves concerning what is going on in our country: the good trends and the things that still are not changing, as they say. [end recording]

[Golubev] The main speaker, Comrade Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, reported the plan to master 1,225 new machines by the end of the 5-Year Plan period. The annual output of these should be tripled.

[Begin recording] [Belousov] The present level of processing equipment is extremely low, and we must frankly admit this. Only 19 percent of the machines the AIC is equipped with today meet world standards.

[Ryzhkov] Out of 1,500 kinds of machinery for food processing in the AIC, only 200, or 13 percent, meet world standards. As for meat and poultry processing equipment, as well as bakery, macaroni, and confectionery industries' equipment, the level is 11 percent. And the share of serially manufactured computerized equipment is only 0.1 percent. And what is the share of computerized equipment of this kind in world practice?

[Unnamed participant] Forty.

[Belousov] At least between 70 and 85, about this. [indistinct voices follow]

[Ryzhkov] Look, for how many years do we have to pursue [the makers of world standard equipment]? Even if they have 50 percent, and we 0.1 percent?

[Belousov] The situation is extremely difficult. I told, I tried to tell this in my report. Unusual measures and unusual exactness are needed from everyone who is, and will be, dealing with this problem.

[Ryzhkov] You have to properly integrate equipment production with the defense complex. Not merely give an enterprise over to them, so that it would be entirely independent from us—in this case there is no point involving you in it. We thought just this: The power of scientific and technical potential will join these efforts. However, all we see so far is 0.1 percent. [end recording]

[Golubev] USSR Gosagroprom is coordinating this integration. It is the customer, represented at the session by its deputy chairman, Comrade Chernoivanov.

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] A mass of material we received on this question shows that the defense branch is, of course, greatly responsible. They have some shortcomings, but we are convinced that they will manage. They have potential and organization. Do not forget: it is the defense complex, and it will do it. However, I can see that you have no organization in the Gosagroprom.

Look, I received this material yesterday, a named complex for the production of fry puree and potatoes, consisting of 70 pieces of equipment, having a total [consumption] power...[he does not give the figure], and costing 1.8 million roubles. It is manufactured by Krasilov Industrial Association, the leading [golovnoye] enterprise. Two complete plants—one to be built in 1987, and one in 1988—were planned. Now, look at the situation. Where is your coordination? Well, you say that you have been engaged in this for 7 months. But there was someone engaged in this before you. Gosagroprom placed an order on 5 February 1987. On 12 February, Gosagroprom allocated the order to the Ukraine. The Ukraine, in turn, allocated it to Zhitomir and Ternopol Oblagroproms. In March-April, Zhitomir Oblagroprom declined to conclude a contract on the equipment. On 10 June, Ternopol Oblagroprom also declined. On 16 June 1987, the former Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances requested Gosagroprom to name the customer. The ministry repeated the request on 21 August: Decide to whom the ordered equipment should be given, indeed you ordered it. On 18 September 1987 Krasilov Production Association begs—this is what was said in the letter—begs USSR Gosagroprom to decide the question of the customer. For the second time, on 22 October, Gosagroprom allocated the complete plants to someone, this time to Mogilev Oblagroprom.

In November, Mogilev Agroprom allocated a complete plant to Bykhov Preserves Plant. In November, again, Pishchemash [Minlegpishchemash] sent a contract to Bykhov Plant; Bykhov Plant declined, and by 12 December everything was back to the original situation. This is a case of passing the buck. It lasted for a whole year, and in the end everything returned to way things were in the beginning. [end recording]

[Golubev] Yes, so far there has been no observable united technical policy in the branch. First of all, medium and small processing enterprises which still use a lot of manual work are the ones that suffer. This is, indeed, one of the main reserves for the replenishment of food resources. This was stated by Comrade (?Rychin), general director of the agricultural combine Moskva, by Vychina, director of a Moscow (?bakery combine), and by Comrade Panichev.

[Begin Panichev recording] The significance of the document—last year's resolution of the Council of Ministers—which we are discussing now, is, of course, difficult to overestimate. We have been waiting for this for decades. On the other hand, underestimation of its qualitative implementation cannot be tolerated today either. As of today, what is not completely worked out?

One and a half years have already elapsed, but we still have nothing actually made or serially produced. We have the bitter personal experience of receiving, quote, new equipment, unquote. This is the cause of our apprehension about the quality of the equipment being newly developed. As of today, we have no modern technical solutions which are new in principle. Basically, the list reproduces equipment developed 20-30 years ago, either in the USSR or abroad. By the time a step is made from a drawing to an actual machine, it is outdated [moralno ustarevshiy]. [end recording]

[Golubev] Prices for this outdated equipment, however—Comrade Panichev emphasized—are sometimes out of the consumer's reach. Indeed, numerous new machines do not differ from their predecessors either in quality or in increased capacity, but are noticeably more expensive. What is the reason for this?

[Begin recording] [Belousov] Indeed, a considerable increase in prices has taken place. What measures, Nikolay Ivanovich, have been taken? We adopted a decision....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Excuse me, Igor Sergeyevich, how could this have happened? Isn't there any control at all in our country? It is good that you have raised the issue of prices. I had wanted to raise this question. A pressure filter made by the Minsudprom [as heard] [Ministry of Shipbuilding Industry] used to cost 900 roubles; now it costs 5,600 roubles. That is a six-fold increase. Its capacity increased twice. I have a whole list of similar instances here. Here we have a 48-fold increase: A meat mincer used to cost 4,200 roubles; now it costs 200,000. This is 48 times as much. The capacity increased 2.9 times. And so on, and so on: 4 times; 2.5 times; 3.6; 1.3 times. Your enterprises treat their customers as they please, do they not? [end recording]

[Golubev] Everybody is concerned about the problem of prices, especially those engaged in mass production processing. The way to stop the problem lies, again, in technical progress and specialization. For example, Minselmash [Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machinery Building] is prepared to undertake the entire supply of equipment for the dairy industry, as the minister, Comrade (?Ryabyev) stated. This solution can be adopted by other departments as well. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov presented an example of a Tyumen plant that manufactures industrial building blocks for northern regions. Mobile modular units for animal slaughter, meat processing, and sausage manufacturing were developed there in a few months. One complex, with auxiliary structures, is able to be erected in 2-3 months. As early as in 1989, 50 modular units of this kind will be supplied to rural regions.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Comrades, I think that today we have had a principled and businesslike discussion. This discussion is needed, considering the acuteness of the issue of supplying food for the people. We cannot properly continue the development of the country's AIC.

Today we cannot make a satisfactory assessment of the situation formed, primarily, in the defense complex, and the civil machine-building industry as well. The speeches of directors who feel that a new life is beginning for them, and those of ministers, indicate that although there are many things that have not been worked out completely, it is feasible to correct the situation in the near future. This is why I think that it is the main thing today, when discussing this question, to understand that the time constraints are quite strong. We are convinced that our civil machine-building and military - industrial complex have very strong cadres. Igor Sergeyevich, we have to direct the best cadres of the complex. The military - industrial complex has been created by the country. It sends the best people there, but as the time is at hand for help in this sphere of the national economy, it must been done. You have to send the best cadres here. [end recording]

[Golubev] The USSR Council of Ministers has given specific tasks for speeding up the development of machine-building for the AIC processing branches to ministries and departments. In our programs we shall bring you reports on the course of the branch restructuring, the foremost experience, acute problems arising, and problems demanding urgent solutions.

Official Denies Rumors of Price Increases

LD2310174588 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] A deputy chairman of the State Committee on Prices, Anatoliy Komin, has denied rumors about the alleged forthcoming price increase in this country on cars, petrol, construction materials, and other consumer goods. At the same time, he acknowledged, it will be impossible to improve [the] economy given a deformed system of prices which took shape in the country in the period of stagnation. Anatoliy Komin said the State Committee on Prices was preparing a price reform to be submitted for nationwide discussion. He pointed out the reform was to be accompanied by compensations in wages and pensions to rule out a lowering in people's living standards.

Action To Curb Inflation, Compensation Urged

PM2110135388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from I. Kutsevalov under the rubric "Letters '...Not For Publication'": "Let Us Be Frank About the Standard of Living"]

[Text] I inwardly feel the need for reform of the price-formation system. Work that serves no purpose, bad management, and sloppy workmanship will not be remunerated. In retail trade, shortages will be reduced, and also the selfishly motivated black market trade and speculation.

The party has said that the reform will not cause the working people's standard of living to fall. I would like to believe this, but...my faith is undermined by the USSR State Committee for Statistics. Take its latest report, "The USSR in Figures in 1987," for example. This claims that the annual growth in the average monthly wage of workers and employees is rapidly improving the people's standard of living. It states, in particular, that, taking the Soviet national economy as a whole, the average monthly wage in 1960 was R80.6 and, in 1986,

R195.6. I have no intention of disputing these figures. But the Soviet press has reported that the purchasing power of the ruble has fallen by almost 60 percent since 1961.

Recently we have become used to talking frankly about the most serious economic problems. This is a guarantee that they will be resolved. It is time to speak out about inflation. The economy of a number of socialist countries has not been able to avoid this phenomenon. I suggest that, first, we concentrate our attention on reducing the rate of inflation and, second, think about measures that would compensate our people, particularly those on low incomes, for what they lose as a result of inflation.

Correction—Bases for Economic Comparisons

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Bases for Economic Comparisons Questioned" published in the 18 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, beginning on page 74:

page 76, penultimate paragraph, line six: The value of stocks of goods and material assets has now reached almost R500 billion. (changing figure "R5 billion" to "R500 billion")

Scientific

'Aktivnyy' Space Project Meeting Opens

LD2410130488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] I would now like to draw your attention to an international meeting which opened today at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Space Research. Scientists and specialists from Bulgaria, Brazil, Britain, Hungary, the GDR, Canada, Cuba, Poland, the United States, Japan, and several other countries are taking part in the discussion of a space project entitled "Aktivnyy." According to the project's scientific head, Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences Shevchenko, its task is to carry out a complex analysis of the processes of the dispersal of low-frequency electromagnetic waves in the earth's ionosphere and magnetosphere.

To this purpose, a Soviet satellite will be launched into near-Earth orbit. The satellite will have a 5-kilowatt low-frequency radiation generator and a magnet antenna with a diameter of 20 meters. A Czechoslovak subsatellite will also be launched. The spatial structure of phenomema, accompanying the powerful low-frequency radiation from the main satellite, will be studied.

'Red Tape' Combatted in Academy of Sciences

LD2110202388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1232 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 21 Oct TASS—TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov reports:

Academician Yuriy Osipyan has called the elections of new leaders of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was completed late yesterday evening, an important step in combatting red tape. Such a point of view from the scientist is evidently not only dictated by the fact that he himself was elected its vice-president: Yuriy Osipan is one of the members of the commission to combat red tape in the Academy.

"Before, all the nominations for new leaders of the Academy were selected by its presidium and were submitted to the general assembly for formal endorsement alone," the academician told a TASS correspondent. "This time the nominations were put forward by collectives of scientists as well as during the elections themselves at the general assembly of the Academy." By the way, it was during the elections that the nomination of Academician Andrey Sakharov, who has been elected a member of the academy's presidium, was also proposed.

The 57-year-old Osipyan, director of the Institute of Solid State Physics and coordinator of the USSR research complex relating to problems of high-temperature superconductivity, has had to come up against manifestations of red tape more than once in his life. "What is red tape in science?" he repeated. "It is primarily the substitution of real work for the appearance of it, when the observance of a multitude of formalities becomes self-sufficing for the researcher, to the detriment of achieving a specific result."

Academician Osipyan regards the development of democracy—not only in resolving organizational problems in science but also in the expansion of openness and debate during the discussion of the results of scientific work—as a way of overcoming red tape. He recalled that about a year ago the academy's leadership to this end adopted new rules for publishing scientific works which grant young scientists extra opportunities for getting the results of their research published in scientific journals. Incidentally, the rules were changed in the USSR recently for the publication of work connected with the effect of high-temperature superconductivity. Previously it was impossible to publish it since it related to the category "important for the defense industry."

"Now absolutely all research results of a fundamental nature are published in scientific journals. As for the technological aspects, there are a number of restrictions here, connected, I would say, with 'industrial' secrets. The IBM Corporation, for example, with which we are starting to cooperate, does not disclose all its technological secrets in the sphere of superconductivity," Yuriy Osipyan said.

Military

Yazov Explains Doctrine of Military Sufficiency

AU2310140488 Hamburg DIE WELT ("WELT Report" supplement) in German 21 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by USSR Defense Minister Dimitriy Yazov: "Our Military Theory Is Too Often Paralyzed by Laziness"]

[Text] At the present state of development of our society, the development of the Soviet Armed Forces is carried out in strict accordance with the concept of the new

political thinking established by the 27th CPSU Congress. This finds its concrete practical expression in the defensive character of the Soviet military doctrine.

One of its most important components is the principle of defensive sufficiency. It presupposes a permanent reduction of military confrontation, taking into account mutuality, equality, and the equal security of both sides. The level of confrontation is not limited by us. We are for its drastic reduction, for constructive negotiations on any questions of reducing the armed forces and armaments, and for a joint search for solutions, and we are ready to discuss the necessary verification measures.

The USSR and its allies are not aiming at military supremacy but will not tolerate somebody else's. They do not call for greater security, but they cannot accept less security.

With regard to strategic nuclear forces (strategic missile troops, strategic forces of air and naval forces), sufficiency means not permitting an unpunished attack with nuclear weapons under any circumstances, even the most unfavorable ones; that is why they are on permanent standby to immediately react to such an attack;

With regard to conventional means of armed combat, sufficiency means a quantity and quality of such weapons that reliably guarantees the peaceful work of the Soviet people and the fulfillment of the tasks of collective defense of the socialist community.

Every military doctrine reflects the character of the policy on which it is based. Thus, the USSR's military doctrine can never be aggressive, but only defensive. We have never related and will never relate our future to solving international problems with military means. In view of today's nuclear confrontation, the USSR, together with its alliance partners and friends, is in favor of solving contentious international issues peacefully, with political means. The decisive factor in this respect is the military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

The conclusion of the 19th all-union party conference on the necessity to ensure the effectiveness of defense development mainly through qualitative features is something new.

The orientation toward primarily qualitative targets corresponds to the specific conditions of the current stage of international development. First, it arises from the need to make positive tendencies in this development irreversible; second, it is a matter of resisting the policy of strength which results from the behavior, based on the new political thinking in solving the problems of peace and international security; and third, it arises from the fact that emphasizing quantitative targets is not only becoming increasingly expensive, but increasingly ineffective both from the military-political and the actual military point of view.

If we orient ourselves toward qualitative targets in defense development, we do not want to increase the combat strength of the Armed Forces but only maintain it at a level that would exclude military superiority over us and would ensure the secure protection of the Soviet people's peaceful work and peaceful life.

Stressing quality with regard to technology means, above all, a rapid increase of its reliability, and an improvement of the technical data.

As regards military science, the main targets are linked with the accelerated development of their areas of priority and, above all, with working out new concepts of the art of war along the lines of the defensive character of Soviet military doctrine, with the search for effective solutions to problems of perfecting the training system for leading cadres, and with increasing the effectiveness of political, military, moral, and legal education of army members.

Up to now, our military theory has all too often been paralyzed by laziness, stereotypes, and the lack of rivaling ideas and views. Creativity, initiative, courageous research, and acceptable risks are absolutely indispensable to true science.

Perfecting the quality of the composition of the Armed Forces requires, above all, the establishment of an organizational structure of staffs and troops that guarantees functionality, the highest possible correspondence to their purpose, the complete realization of existing combat possibilities, and the unconditional fulfillment of existing tasks with the lowest possible expenditure of financial means and resources.

In this connection, the development of the individual components of the Armed Forces and kinds of weapons not only has to be extremely balanced, but must also take into consideration disarmament steps and their prospects, and has to fully live up to the requirements of the defense doctrine.

Yazov: Komsomol Vital to Military Restructuring

PM2410104188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report on 22 October Moscow meeting between Defense Minister Yazov and Komsomol activists: "The Army Komsomol and Restructuring"]

[Text] A meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Komsomol was held in the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army in Moscow 22 October between Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, and Komsomol activists from leading military units and ships. The meeting discussed progress in restructuring the work of the Army and Navy Komsomol.

Those present were addressed by Army Gen D.T. Yazov. Our party firmly links the irreversibility of the process of restructuring with young people's active creative participation in it, he said. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference stressed the need for a strong and integrated state policy toward the younger generation. The kind of policy that will enable young people to become independent as early as possible, display their abilities and realize their life's objectives as fully as possible, and be optimally prepared to promptly assume economic, political, and moral responsibility for the fate of the motherland.

The restructuring and renewal of society have entered a new phase. The Soviet people now have a better knowledge and understanding of their past and present and are looking to the future with hope and firm confidence. The policy of restructuring, detailed in concrete socioeconomic programs, is becoming the practical cause of millions of people. Restructuring has radically changed the moral and political climate in the country and won the support of the masses, who are joining increasingly actively in its implementation.

This also applies fully to the Armed Forces. The 3 and ½ years of restructuring have seen positive changes in the life of troops and naval forces. Changes for the better are gradually embracing all aspects of our Army reality. Military councils, commanding officers, political organs, and party organizations have begun to operate with greater initiative. The tempo of combat and political training has become more precise, and modern weapons and combat equipment are being mastered more efficiently.

Practical steps are being taken to democratize Army and Navy life. Servicemen's increased sociopolitical and professional activeness has become an important indicator of the process of restructuring. This was demonstrated particularly graphically during the September "Fall-88" exercises, where the majority of formations and units displayed a high degree of combat maturity and persistence in reaching qualitatively new heights in combat readiness. Landing force soldiers and many Komsomol servicemen from the Odessa and Carpathian Military Districts, Air Defense Forces and Air Force personnel, and naval landing force servicemen from the Black Sea Fleet all performed excellently.

Through their feats of arms and successful resolution of the tasks set them in the course of the competition for a fitting welcome to the 70th anniversary of the Lenin Komsomol, nine of the best units and ships won the right to bear the honorary title "Named for the 70th Anniversary of the Komsomol."

The heroic history of the Armed Forces is inseparably linked with the history of the Lenin Komsomol. Entry into the ranks of the Komsomol was and remains tantamount to voluntarily assuming a commitment to come to the defense of the socialist fatherland at any moment. The youth league's links with the Army and Navy in our day take the form of the conscientious fulfillment of military duty, the internationalist assistance rendered by Soviet servicemen to the Republic of Afghanistan, the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident, the conquest of space, the gathering of the harvest, and thousands of other examples from the daily military life of young servicemen.

The positive changes in the course of restructuring have also affected Komsomol organizations. The basic contradictions and problems which built up in the Army and Navy Komsomol during the stagnation years have been uncovered. On the basis of party decisions and the ideas of the 20th Komsomol Congress, Komsomol organizations have taken the first steps along the path of reviving the independent democratic and creative nature of their activity. On this basis young people's interest in the quality of military service is gradually growing and the Komsomol's influence on all aspects of troop collectives' lives is intensifying.

At the same time, if we are making making a principled assessment of what has been achieved, we cannot fail to note that the process of change both in the Army organism as a whole and in Komsomol organizations is finding the going uneven and difficult. The deep-rooted causes of retardation—shirking responsibility, hoping to automatically obtain rights, benefits, and privileges, constantly looking out for instructions from above, being concerned for form to the detriment of content—have still not been overcome. All this lessens the effectiveness of the Army Komsomol's work to a considerable extent. There is only one remedy here: the more active involvement of Komsomol organizations in practical matters.

The molding in young people of a constant interest in military service must become the main avenue of the work of Komsomol committees and bureaus. The collective nature of modern weapons and combat equipment and the conditions of their use make severe demands not only on servicemen's individual skill but also on the combat cohesion of subunits, units, and ships. In order to become a real master of a military specialism it is important to love your weaponry and equipment, to have pride in them and firm faith in their reliability and power. The lessons of the Great Patriotic War, the actions of our servicemen in Afghanistan, and the experience of exercises show that, without this, you do not get a real soldier and officer in the real sense of the term. The overwhelming majority of young men drafted into the Army possess an ardent desire to become real soldiers; it is a matter of masculine honor and pride for them. Yet we are not always able to make full use of this potential.

There is broad scope for activity by Komsomol organizations here. The Army and Navy Komsomol can and must be more active, first and foremost in work to achieve excellent results in combat and political training and good class ratings. Komsomol committees and bureaus determine to a considerable extent whether every young serviceman is affected from the first days of his service by a deep

sense of responsibility to study the weaponry and equipment entrusted to him and make effective use of every minute of training time. It is important to motivate young people to master military-technical knowledge and play an active part in invention and rationalization work, to develop more widely the competition for the title of best Komsomol team and crew, and to conduct combat skill contests among young officers, ensigns, and warrant officers—all things that make combat training interesting and creative and promote the achievement of a high degree of professionalism.

The correct action is being taken by Komsomol activists in leading units in the Turkestan and Belorussian Military Districts and the Baltic Fleet, who have switched the center of Komsomol work to the training grounds, firing ranges, and vehicle pools. Competitions, contests, and healthy rivalry have become the practice here.

Komsomol committees are called upon to make their contribution to enlivening socialist competition, increasing the level of glasnost and objectiveness in it, and actively introducing and disseminating advanced experience. This applies first and foremost to units and ships bearing the name of the Lenin Komsomol and other honorary titles. Unfortunately, far from all of them are leading units today. In the Navy, for example, only one in four crews of ships with a Komsomol title have excellent indicators in combat training to their credit. We cannot accept this. They must be brought up to the mark and become beacons of competition by entitlement.

Komsomol organizations must resolutely join in the struggle against attempts to gloss over the state of affairs, ostentation, slackness, oversimplification, and the detachment of servicemen from combat training. Young people need to feel that they are responsible for the country's defense. This responsibility should determine what needs to be done to ensure that Komsomol work is a training for young people in self-assertion and self-expression, and that the years of Army service are a time to gain maturity and military and moral tempering. Such activeness by the Komsomol will always be understood and supported by commanders and political workers at all levels.

We have now entered the final period of the training year. It will show how the party's directives for improving the quality of combat training have been received in practice in the Army and Navy. We now need real breakthroughs in carrying out the set tasks and in improving the quality of troop and naval force training. At this stage Komsomol organizations must mobilize all young servicemen to work with complete devotion and strive for the highest results in combat training, socialist competition, and the fulfillment of their military duty.

Dwelling on certain questions of Army and Navy life, the USSR defense minister said that a special role is played by military discipline in bringing about a qualitative improvement in the Armed Forces. High levels of organization and statutory order are at one and the same time the condition, means, and guarantee for restructuring and renewing military life. Statutory order guarantees for servicemen, as full Soviet citizens, the implementation of the rights and freedoms granted them in conjunction with the duties of military service imposed on them, respect for individuals' dignity, and attention to their interests, needs, and requirements. This was stressed yet again at the 13 October CPSU Central Committee Politburo session.

That is why Komsomol organizations' most important function in protecting the interests of Army and Navy young people can and must be reflected in joint activity with commanders, political organs, and party organizations in instilling strict statutory order. In resolving this important task the Komsomol has been assigned a specific and quite definite area—the eradication of mockery and taunting among young people, and the strengthening of friendship, cohesion, and military camaraderie. This task has not yet been finally resolved either by the political command staff or by the Komsomol.

A paradoxical situation is emerging. We can inspire our young people to carry out feats, to be self-sacrificing, and to do strenuous and dangerous work, yet in certain units we cannot inspire them to combat barracks-room hooligans and negative phenomena. What has happened is that commanders, political workers, and party organizations have mounted an offensive against nonstatutory relations, yet many soldiers, mainly Komsomol members, have "kept their heads down" and not declared an honest and open war on this moral disease.

One of the deep-rooted reasons for this situation lies in the fact that many Komsomol organizations have failed to create a healthy climate in their ranks or to foster genuine communist morality in young people. One thing is clear now: It is not possible to resolve the problem of eliminating negative phenomena by administrative and prohibitive measures alone, without the active help of all Komsomol members and the entire public. That is why we want to actively involve the Komsomol in this responsible task.

The resolution of the task of rallying military collectives is intimately bound up with the need for Komsomol organizations to switch more resolutely to questions of interethnic relations in Army and Navy collectives. Army service is a real schooling in international education. The overwhelming majority of the country's young people go through it. And the future of our multinational motherland will largely depend on what this schooling is like.

Army Gen D.T. Yazov went on to note that the period of renewal makes it necessary to study Lenin's legacy more fully and in greater depth. It is in the Komsomol environment that young people should develop a natural desire to check their deeds against Lenin's behests.

Komsomol organizations, through their creative, inherently youth-centered forms of ideological influence purged of formalism, are called upon to help servicemen in acquiring political knowledge.

In educational work Komsomol committees and bureaus still rely only poorly on the unfading spiritual power of combat traditions and the military oath. Yet these constitute the source that makes it possible to channel Komsomol organizations' creative potential into developing in young servicemen the right ideas about honor, dignity, comradeliness, and friendship, fostering patriotism and internationalism, and asserting the high prestige of conscientious military service and unshakable loyalty to military duty.

The preparation of young people for military service provides broad scope for practical work by the Army and Navy Komsomol. We promote the activities of military-patriotic associations and clubs. But this will not fully resolve the task if each Komsomol organization does not strengthen its ties with young people preparing to enter the services, and with the collectives rearing future servicemen. We must increase access to military units for young people, satisfy their interest in equipment more fully, and mold love and respect for the Army.

The resolution of the complex and responsible tasks facing Komsomol organizations, the USSR defense minister said in conclusion, also requires qualitative changes in the content of party leadership of the Komsomol. This process is based on the principled directives of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Political command cadres and all Communist leaders are obliged to express their full confidence in young people and approach their initiatives, criticisms, and demands attentively; to base relations with the Komsomol on the principles of comradeliness, respect, mutual demands, and active collaboration in resolving tasks; and to make it possible for Komsomol organizations to operate without hindrance, resolutely and boldly, combining independence with responsibility for the task entrusted them.

The meeting was addressed by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

New Leadership in DOSAAF Central Committee

PM2410131588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Colonel N. Kalmykov: "DOSAAF Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A USSR DOSAAF Central Committee Plenum yesterday analyzed the progress of the defense organization's practical work in fulfilling the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Lieutenant General V.A. Demin, first deputy chairman of the USSR DOSAAF Central Committee, delivered a report.

The report and the speeches delivered by the plenum participants noted that since the 19th party conference and the 10th USSR DOSAAF Congress, mass defense and military-patriotic work has been markedly activated in the society's organizations and it has become more specific and effective. At the same time existing opportunities for the broad restructuring of the society's activity are not being fully realized, and a number of committees and organizations are operating in the old way, are allowing dilatoriness, and as a result are failing to ensure tangible quality indicators in work.

The plenum discussed ways of further intensifying restructuring in the DOSAAF organizations.

The plenum examined an organizational question. Colonel General N.N. Kotlovtsev was elected chairman of the USSR DOSAAF Central Committee.

I.A. Larin, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, took part in the work of the plenum.

INF Missile Officers' Redeployment Discussed

PM2110143088 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Colonel General V. Mikhalkin, chief of the Ground Forces Missile Forces and Artillery, by Maj S. Popov under the rubric "Interview on a Topical Theme": "After the Explosions at Saryozek: Missiles for Scrap. But What About the Missile Men's Future?"—date, place of interview not stated; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In accordance with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the first explosions have been heard in the areas where the missiles are being eliminated. But where and how will the people who controlled these weapons continue their service? At the request of the editorial office, Colonel General V. Mikhalkin, chief of the Ground Forces Missile Forces and Artillery, told us about this.

[Popov] Vladimir Mikhaylovich! First, the main point that concerns many of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's readers: Will all the officers serving in the missile units whose weapons are due for elimination remain in service?

[Mikhalkin] Yes, we are trying to maintain in full the personnel of these units—after all, they are officers with a high standard of professional training. Moreover, even the few men who, for various reasons, expressed a desire to be discharged into the reserve before the expiration of their term of service have in fact remained in service. They are valuable specialists and good officers, and we managed to convince them of the need to continue to serve.

[Popov] Is there any justification for comparing the present moment in the Army's life with the reduction of the Armed Forces that took place in the late fifties and early sixties?

[Mikhalkin] Despite the outward similarity in the situations, there is a fundamental difference here. Today the question of the future service of each officer and ensign is being resolved on an individual basis. In those days, and I say this from my personal observations, the principle: "Every third man to leave the service" was implemented more or less mechanically. Many talented commanding officers, political workers, military engineers, and technicians were forced to leave the Army. And at the same time those who remained were sometimes far from the best. In my view conclusions have been drawn from the lessons of the past. Today the Ground Forces cadre directorate, the districts' cadre organs, and our directorate's cadre group, headed by Colonel V. Novoselov, are working responsibly and in coordination. This work is far from simple.

[Popov] What is being offered to the officers?

[Mikhalkin] We are talking about the specialists who controlled the shorter-range missiles. These missiles will no longer exist. But missile complexes with a range of up to 500 km remain. We are sending some of the officers to these units and subunits. Others will continue to serve in the tube and rocket artillery. Naturally, I am talking about commanding officers. As for the political workers, truck drivers, communications operators, in other words, officers who are not "tied" by their speciality specifically to the missile forces—some of these are being sent to other categories of troops and even other branches of the Armed Forces.

[Popov] Is it easy for a missile man to transfer to the classical artillery, if I can put it like that?

[Mikhalkin] A certain amount of professional and psychological restructuring is necessary. But in our educational institutions, and especially the military academy, officers are trained to serve in both missile and artillery units. We try correspondingly to alternate their service in the troops. I myself, for instance, commanded an artillery regiment, then served in command posts in the missile forces, and then in the artillery again. And that is a common phenomenon.

Nonetheless all the missile officers who have had to change the nature of their service have been retrained. They will improve in the process of systematic commander training.

[Popov] What problems have emerged in the course of resolving cadre questions?

[Mikhalkin] Enough, of course. They emerged from the time of the withdrawal from GDR and CSSR territory of the missile units that were stationed there in December 1983. They were to return to their former stations, where the housing stock and the training base had formerly been mothballed. But.... It transpired that in the military districts, these camps were already being used to some degree. The commander-in-chief of the Ground Forces had to intervene. Things were put right very quickly.

But most of the problems are human problems. People feel hurt, disappointed. But these problems are not at all associated with the elimination of a whole class of arms. We military men have the same thoughts and feelings as the whole people. It is a matter of people's personal lives.

Among the missile forces command personnel (depending on the missile complex that is in the unit's armory) there are differences in the official category, where salaries are the same. This is what happens. An officer has, for instance, been in a post classified as "captain," he has coped with it successfully, and in his new place he is offered a post classifed one step lower. There is no material loss to him, but his prestige is affected. In some cases, as I have already mentioned, people have gone so far as to request a discharge into the reserves. In such situations reproaches and lectures are pointless. Sensitivity, humanity, and good advice from your seniors are much more important.

[Popov] How does the picture look in general as regards the redeployment of officers?

[Mikhalkin] I will take as an example one unit that has returned to the territory of the Baltic Military District. Two-thirds of the officers are continuing their careers in that district. Eleven men, among them Major V. Lomakin and Captains V. Polovinkin, S. Mironov, and Kh. Gaynullin, have entered higher posts. Lieutenant Colonel A. Chashin, Major A. Savinkin, and Captains N. Nazipov, and V. Kvasovka have become students at the military academy. All the others have taken equivalent posts. Four commanders were appointed to posts with lower official classifications. In all cases this was with their official consent. It is a question of very young officers who have their entire career ahead of them. How have the officers sent to other districts been used? One was promoted, and one was appointed to a lower-ranking post. The others are serving in posts equal to their former positions.

We also seek where possible to take the officers' personal requests into account. Lieutenant Colonel A. Yedunov, who has an apartment in Kaliningrad, was sent to the oblast military commissariat. Lieutenant Colonel V. Granovskiy and a number of other officers were sent to artillery units, at their own wish....

[Popov] The newspaper TRUD recently published a letter from the wife of a missile officer about the difficult living conditions at her husband's new place of service....

[Mikhalkin] Of course difficulties of this kind exist. They are characteristic of the Armed Forces in general. It would be nice if an officer could receive, together with his appointment to his new post, the keys to a new apartment. But alas.... That is not likely to happen in the near future. We have sometimes had to billet families who did not have apartments in barracks, training blocks, and hotels refitted as hostels. The premises are divided into rooms and equipped with furniture. The conditions are acceptable, but you cannot call it luxury.

[Popov] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, could you clarify the situation specifically involving Senior Lieutenant Sh. Khayrov, whose wife complained about domestic troubles?

[Mikhalkin] First, one point: It is not Senior Lieutenant, but Captain Khayrov. This conscientious officer received the higher military rank in accordance with the post he now holds. At the garrison to which Khayrov and his unit returned after their withdrawal from GDR territory and where his family were provided with two rooms, there was no post with the official rank of "captain." An equivalent was found in another unit, where the housing situation is indeed critical.

In general, much, in my view, depends on attentiveness toward the missile men in the districts to which they were sent to continue their service. And here not everything is being resolved fairly. At one garrison, for instance, they built an apartment block specially for these officers, and have begun to build another. But the district promptly took some of the apartments for its own needs. It is hard to accept that.

[Popov] One last question. Has the missile men's prestige suffered, in your view, as a result of the elimination of two types of missile arms?

[Mikhalkin] I think the competition for entries to our military academies acts as a kind of barometer here. This year it remains approximately the same as it was before.

Television Portrays Changes in Armed Forces

OW2210134288 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2225 GMT on 15 October presents the scheduled "I Serve the Soviet Union" program. The program begins with a collage of file film from military maneuvers and exercises, accompanied by a song about action in Afghanistan. The program, introduced by an unidentified journalist, deals with the effect of restructuring on the armed forces. It begins with video shots of recruits leaving villages, bidding farewell to relatives at railway stations, and their arrival in boot camp where they are issued equipment and uniforms.

The program then cuts to show an interview with a group of former servicemen who are seated in what appears to be a student cafeteria. All the members of the group are presently studying journalism. They express the view that the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program presents an idealized picture of military life and is not taken too seriously by servicemen. They also point out that the life of officers is incomparably better than that of enlisted men.

Video then cuts to an interview with Lieutenant Colonel S.N. Yushenkov, candidate of philosophical sciences, who is seen seated in an open air cafe. He is dressed in civilian clothes. The interview begins with the problem of the abstract effect restructuring had on the military. Yushenkov points out that a lot of what has been taken for granted in the past is presently in a state of flux. This includes such aspects as the communist world view and concepts of social justice; what is socialism, and is what is present in the Soviet Union today really socialism? In order to be able to cope with these questions, Yushenkov expresses the belief that there is a need for a much higher educational level among military leaders.

The question of officers' pay and privileges is then raised. Yushenkov disagrees that the salaries of military officers are excessively high. He points out that the expenses associated with frequent changes of locations are not properly compensated, that officers' wives have difficulty getting work, that officers often have to pay as much as R100-150 for their apartments. Taking into consideration the opportunities that exist in all professions, such as teaching, medicine, etc., to augment one's income, an officer's income is very low.

Video then cuts back to the group of students, with one of them recalling that recruits from Moscow and other large cities, especially those who were students, were told in no uncertain terms that should they fail to perform properly, they would be given adverse reference and their return to university could be jeopardized. Video cuts to Major G.A. Toradze, a Georgian, who readily agrees that recruits from Moscow and other big cities are hard to deal with; he prefers working with soldiers from the countryside.

An interview with Major G.G. Dolin follows. He is asked whether there would have been fewer casualties in Afghanistan if the officers were better trained. He says: "Perhaps we were trained more to shoot than to think. But we did learn. Some took longer, others were quicker." He goes on to say that it should be remembered that Afghanistan is not typical of a modern military situation and therefore, in his opinion, Soviet officers are quite well prepared for combat. Dolin is then asked whether it would be possible for the Soviet Union to have a volunteer army in the future. He said that this is not impossible. After all, the officer corps consists entirely of paid professionals. He expresses reservation about having a mercenary armed force, citing Lenin in support of his argument that a socialist state should have a "people's army."

Video cuts back once again to the students, this time talking about their experiences with hazing. Several anecdotes and personal experiences are recalled, and there is a general consensus that if a soldier is adamant that he will not respond to hazing, the situation is not too bad. The camera returns to show Major Dolin saying that the worst of hazing is in the past and that within 5 years or so, he feels it will disappear completely.

The camera then cuts to show Lieutenant Colonel Yushenkov, who asks: "Do we need the armed forces today? Yes we do. But what sort of an army do we need? Does it have to be as large as the one we have today? I would say that this question needs examination." He goes on to say that the restructuring of the military structure is needed, both in terms of quantity and quality. However, says Yushenkov, the process of restructuring the military has to be done with care and at a sensible pace in order not to jeopardize the defensive capabilities of the Soviet armed forces. Nevertheless: "I am deeply convinced that we need to reduce the army. Take the army of the United States. In size it is smaller than ours. But they are all professionals." He goes on to say: "You know why I am proud to be an officer? Ours is a long—70 year long—history. Many armed organizations in our country have been used to suppress individuals and whole groups of people, but luckily our army was never involved in this process. Moreover, the army has always, I would say, shared the tragic fate with the best representatives of our country."

The program continues with a general discussion of the qualities an officer will need to have in the 21st century. It concludes, as it began, with a collage of film clips showing military maneuvers and exercises accompanied by a song about Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.